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# Latin America Report

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## LATIN AMERICA REPORT

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## BRIEFS

NEW OIL DISCOVERY--Rio de Janeiro, 1 Oct (AFP)--Petrobras today announced that oil has been discovered on the continental shelf of Bahia State. The discovery has been made in an area where the U.S. companies Pecten, Chevron and Union Oil have been prospecting. Petrobras indicated that the drills hit oil at 2,369 meters, but there is still no information whether exploitation will be commercially feasible. [Paris AFP in Spanish 1447 GMT 1 Oct 81 PY]

GAS RESERVES INCREASE--A new evaluation of oil deposits in the Jurua basin, upper Amazonas have revealed that recently discovered gas deposits in that area hold at least 10 billion cubic meters of gas. Until recently, Jurua reserves had been estimated at 4 or 5 billion cubic meters. However, Petrobras attaches even more significance to the fact that the new seismic survey which it has just launched in Jurua indicates many geological structures which could hold still larger gas deposits and also oil. [Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 26 Sep 81 p 18 PY]

CSO: 3001/9

## GOVERNMENT OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCES OIL DRILLINGS

San Jose LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 21 Aug 81 p 4

[Text] The national government yesterday officially announced that everything is ready to begin drilling for petroleum in the Atlantic area of Baja Talamanca. The decision was confirmed by the technical mission from Mexico's Pemex which is presently in our country.

As LA REPUBLICA revealed in its exclusive report on the 19th of this month, the sites for stratigraphic and deep drilling have been located. Fernando Altmann, the minister of energy, yesterday delivered an official press bulletin. The following is the text:

On this, the 20th of August of 1981, on the occasion of a visit by the Pemex technical mission composed of Engineers Jesus Chavarria, Octavio Mejia, Felipe Espinoza and Alonso Ruiz, the following agreements and conclusions have been reached:

- 1) Based on the spirit of solidarity which marks the Energy Cooperation Program signed in this city by the presidents of Mexico and Venezuela, an agreement has been reached to extend the Technical Cooperation Agreement between Mexican Petroleum (Pemex) and the Costa Rican Oil Refinery (RECOPE), originally signed on 6 November 1980, until a new expiration date of 3 August 1982.
- 2) After 10 months of intensive work, with direct participation by Costa Rican and Mexican technical personnel, a decision has been made to begin drilling one or two deep stratigraphic exploration wells which will serve to determine the possible existence of hydrocarbons on a commercial scale.
- 3) Sites of interest for future deep drilling have been fixed upon, steps will be taken immediately to prepare a docking site and construct access roads. To that effect, the Mexican mission, together with Costa Rican technical personnel, will go to Baja Talamanca to make a visual inspection tour of the area tomorrow.
- 4) All steps necessary to be ready to begin deep drilling before the end of the current year will be coordinated.
- 5) The national government hereby reiterates once more its thanks to the Mexican Government for the invaluable cooperation it has offered and will continue to offer to the petroleum exploration program so important to our country.

## IAPA SCORES UNESCO'S MEDIA POLICY

PY141513 Paris AFP in Spanish 1849 GMT 13 Oct 81

[Excerpt] Rio de Janeiro, 13 Oct (AFP)--IAPA [Inter-American Press Association] formulated a call here today to all journalists of the Free World asking them to struggle against the conspiracy that the UNESCO is cooking up against the freedom of expression and information.

This call was formulated in the report of the chairman of the IAPA's Executive Committee, which also states that this private organization has continued its watchful attitude in view of the conspiracy that the UNESCO has been cooking up for years against freedom of the press and expression.

The document adds that the struggle must continue, no matter how difficult it is, and it is difficult because there are a large number of governments that are trying to regulate freedom of expression in order to get, under any pretext, newspapers, television and radio to publish and say what the regimes that are in power at the time want to be disseminated.

According to the IAPA's report, "The regimes with a totalitarian ideology are the most interested in this conspiracy" and it stresses that "it must regretfully be stated that some democratic governments, due to socialist demagoguery or orientation, have joined the actions of the communists, who basically support the UNESCO project, which has the intention of controlling the media through the state."

The IAPA stresses the importance of the declaration of principles of the voices of freedom of the independent media conference that was held in May 1981 in the city of Talloires, France, in which the UNESCO was urged to abandon its attempts to regulate global information and instead to make efforts "to seek practical solutions that will promote the development of the Third World's media."

According to the report, these principles are of value if they are used constantly as a banner for the struggle of the Free World's journalists and if they are also used by all those, who not being journalists, are aware of the danger that this campaign represents.

IAPA believes that the support that has been given to the Talloires declaration by U.S. President Ronald Reagan is very important, and it expressed the hope that other chiefs of free states will adopt an identical attitude.

The document also states that the critical situation that the Managua newspaper LA PRENSA is facing--its freedom has been restricted through temporary suspensions--merits the special attention of all the journalists of the Free World.

CSO: 3010/96



COUNTRY SECTION

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

LAIA TRADE--Jorge Vega Castro, deputy minister of integration, has called a press conference to report on the meeting of LAIA [Latin American Integration Association] experts held in Lima from 21 to 26 September. He reported that in 1980 Peru exported to LAIA members \$186 million worth of goods and imported from them \$107 million. He also said that the meeting agreed to increase support and aid to countries of lesser relative development within the association. [PY042249 Lima Domestic Service in Spanish 1200 GMT 30 Sep 81]

GROMYKO, ARGENTINE OFFICIALS TO PERU--Lima, 2 Oct (TELAM)--Foreign Minister Javier Arias Stella has announced that Argentine Foreign Minister Oscar Camilion and Spain's chief of government Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo will visit Peru, and that there is the possibility that Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko may also visit. Minister Stella said that, in talks he held with them in New York during the UN General Assembly, Camilion and Sotelo assured him that they will visit Lima before the end of the year. [Text] [PY051645 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1720 GMT 2 Oct 81]

CSO: 3010/94

## IMPACT OF BALBIN'S DEATH ON POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

## Intraparty Struggles

Buenos Aires ULTIMA CLAVE in Spanish 15 Sep 81 pp 2-6

[Text] Balbin's Death: Impact on the Radicals (I)

Without intending to, we have brought up the issue of the future leadership of the UCR [Radical Civic Union], in other words, the internal struggle that began at least 6 months ago when Dr Balbin's health began to become a major concern for many.

One episode was to gradually bring this out. We are talking about the barbecue at Dock Sud early last autumn, which was attended by ("entente cordiale") Vanoli, Troccoli, Alfonsin and Leon and at which the issue that is now starting to take definite shape was left hanging. On that day, the "entente" that we mentioned could have been interpreted as the outline of a "nonaggression pact" among the aforementioned leaders. On that occasion, Vanoli and Troccoli were operating under the inspiration of the old caudillo who passed away last week.

The "pact," however, was not among equals. It is a known fact that neither Vanoli nor Troccoli could have ever lent sufficient weight of their own to the "internal struggles." For his part, Alfonsin, though his backing in the party has diminished, enjoys a good image outside it, in the inner circle of the Left. Meanwhile, Leon, from Chaco, holds a substantial majority in his district and is in quite good shape in others, and this does not include his followers in a number of populist sectors.

Since that barbecue in Dock Sud several months ago, rapprochements have taken place between various figures in step with victories and defeats, which are so common in political battles (one example is the tough and difficult rapprochement with Dr Angeloz, as well as the slow rapprochement with Dr Juan Carlos Pugliese, so slow that it is practically nonexistent). In all, the main success of the members of the "entente" was that Dr Balbin did not deactivate the multiparty group, which did not give definite signs either of a drift away from the initiatives of Dr Troccoli, who in recent years had shown himself to be Bittel's strongest link within Radicalism.

The "entente" is faced with opponents who disagree strongly with their views, tactics and strategies. We are talking about Drs Cesar Garcia Puente, Fernando de la Rúa and Arturo Mathov, among others. Neither of these three men was included originally on the list of speakers that we mentioned above. As we explained, de la Rúa was put on the next list. Mathov was unquestionably one of the most visible leaders of the opposition to Ricardo Balbin. But there was no ill-will between them, because the deceased caudillo sent a message of support for the homage that was recently paid to Mathov (we reported several suggestive details in these columns). Arturo Illia did likewise.

It has been learned that the Garcia Puente-de la Rúa-Mathov group will proceed at footsoldier pace, allowing the adversary, the "entente" in other words, to move ahead (hastily, perhaps foolishly, they believe) until it reaches a dead end.

As far as the Sabatino movement in Córdoba is concerned, all indications are that in spite of major internal differences, it will join forces with the holdovers with the same leanings in the Federal Capital (they were calling for a National Convention even before Balbin's death) and in several provinces. One of the movement's major figures is Dr Benjamin Zavalía, from Santiago del Estero, who was not included in the 21-speaker marathon.

Nevertheless, it is not easy to see how the bulk of the Sabatino movement can coordinate for the battle that is taking shape in the wake of the "putsch" on Wednesday the 9th, in other words, the meeting of the advisory committee, the proceedings and details of which we talked about above. For the time being, Dr Angeloz, although a circumstantial participant in the "putsch," would surely not be able to adopt that attitude if he is forced to consult with men like Victor Martinez, for example. If Angeloz might look like a spontaneous associate of the Alfonsín-Troccoli-León-Vanoli quartet, Victor Martinez would surely take a wait-and-see approach, perhaps remaining silent, which would place him beside Garcia Puente and de la Rúa (closer still to the latter), though we should not fail to mention that he agrees with many aspects of Benjamin Zavalía's position. The Sabatino movement could thus split into two factions, except if Dr Illia tries successfully to prevent this, and we should not rule out the possibility that the loser will eventually close ranks with the ultimate winner.

Meanwhile, what will Perette and Pugliese, the withered Santa Fe cadres (putting Dr Damiani on the list of speakers should be seen as a bid by "putschism" for closer, though not very close, ties with that province), etc, do?

An assessment (provisional, of course) of the forces at work should make it clear that so-called "Balbinaje" has come to an end. Its reason for being has vanished (we should differentiate sharply between "Balbinaje" and "Balbinism").

At the moment, Balbinism will barely be able to survive, unless it moves towards a wider range of options, like the ones that the Sabatino movement should have offered when it had the chance. The end of "Balbinaje" could

leave the door open to a sort of stock-taking within the hard-line Balbinist movement, stripped of emotional overtones and in full-fledged evolution towards (in the near future) more modern positions than the ones that have so far characterized it.

In the case of Dr Perette, who was closely associated with Balbin's steps and strongly identified with a silent acquiescence in the "sui generis" methods cultivated by Enrique Vanoli, a sort of extension arm of Dr Antonio Troccoli, his probable move towards stands such as those held by Arturo Mathov and his people will certainly be risky. The costs that such a move might demand of him could jeopardize his current bases of support. His very good relations with other factions on the political spectrum (democratic socialists, some democratic sectors and, in general, those most consistently opposed to Peronism) might eventually turn out to be stronger and more valid than his ties within his own party.

The "putschists" of Wednesday the 9th (the ones who drew up the list of the score of speakers) seemingly have control of the party apparatus at the moment, a factor that we should keep very much in mind in assessing the steps that will be taken very soon. In light of the experience with "what happened" after the deaths of Alem, Yrigoyen, Alvear and Peron, all indications are that in terms of taking over a political legacy, "he who strikes first, strikes twice."

But not everything has been decided. In June of last year, the radical movement succeeded in postponing, not surmounting, internal squabbling. For its part, the current leadership is surrounded by developments that were unforeseen a year ago, among them the death of Dr Ricardo Balbin.

#### Impact on the Peronists (II)

No one can doubt that Bittel the notary will be one of the non-UCR leaders most affected, most harmed (we should stress) by Dr Balbin's death. Our reason for making this assertion is that a year ago (the former Chaco governor hastily recalled this a few days ago) the by then ailing radical caudillo had promised him that they would "reach" an electoral alliance (there were emissaries who reminded him of this confidentially), and he made this pledge in the presence of an unchallengeable witness, to be exact, a person who had attended the last private meeting that the two party leaders had. Some accounts have it, perhaps maliciously, that under the circumstances, just to make sure, Bittel suggested that the remarks be tape-recorded, a sort of plastic notarization.

Bittel and Balbin had been in contact for 2 years when the radical caudillo passed away. Bittel had proceeded at the urging of Antonio Troccoli, in whose home the first steps towards a Radical-Peronist rapprochement took place. It was also Troccoli who a month before the Bittel-Balbin meeting in mid-1980 cleared all obstacles from the path that would lead to their encounter, by taking advantage of his close friendship with Julio Barbaro, the Peronist leader who was kidnaped a few days ago and then returned to home.



In light of all that we have said about this topic, it should not surprise anyone that the "putschists" of Wednesday the 9th moved decisively to designate Bittel as a speaker, not in the neutral site of the La Plata Cemetery but rather in the inner sanctum of Radicalism's National Committee, in other words, the scene of the "putsch."

We should recall (because it is a very important point) how Bittel managed to survive at the head of the Peronist party leadership when General Harguindeguy, the former interior minister, initiated the political dialogue in 1980. At what he thought was the opportune moment (and he hit the nail on the head), the deceased Radical leader advised the government that his party would not attend the dialogue unless the top echelon of the UCD (the members of its National Committee) was allowed in the minister's office. Quick on the uptake, the remaining parties to be invited echoed this demand as their own.

Balbin thus very skillfully paved the way for a recognition of Peronism by making its leaders acceptable to certain sectors of the government. His death might weaken the situation that he helped to bring about. Perhaps this is why Bittel was so quick to remind everyone that Balbin had promised him a Radical-Peronist alliance a year ago. Thus, it is not surprising that by including his name on the list of speakers, the "putschists" have moved to consolidate the step taken by Balbin. That, at least, is what they believe.

Given the current climate, a climate that always precedes a realignment of forces, the more pessimistic among us would perhaps be justified in wondering whether the perceived Radical strategy of tinkering with the fickle remnants of the Peronist political capital is not going to be turned around now (in light of the clear-cut leadership struggle in the UCR) in a direction that very few people would have anticipated, that is to say, a shift of Radicals (we will not say how many or who) to the diminished ranks of Peronism.

#### Impact on the Multiparty Group (III)

Balbin's death was like "an outstretched hand" to the multiparty group just when it was close to paralysis. His passing was quickly taken as a suitable pretext for postponing the meeting that had been called for the 8th (it would have been very stormy). As a matter of fact, the multiparty group had announced that the meeting would be put off even before Balbin passed away. Given the difficult issues it had to take up, including the exclusive union representation demanded by Lorenzo Miguel's CGT [General Labor Confederation], the postponement was a last resort. If it had not employed this strategem, Bittel, Contin, Frondizi, Alende and Cerro, in other words, the top leaders of each of the five factions forming the group, would have met for the second time since its creation.

These leaders were not preparing to meet just to take up something futile or fleeting, but rather to get their teeth into an issue that had been around for weeks without an end in sight. As we indicated above, we are talking

about the invitation that had to be extended to the union sectors of Peronism, a complicated matter that, depending on how it is resolved, will determine whether Radicalism withdraws from the "pentagon" or not. If the idea of accepting the exclusive representation requested by the CGT prevails, the Radicals will leave the multiparty group. In contrast, if the view that "all" union sectors should be invited wins out, as the Radicals advocate, such a move will provoke the wrath of the hardest-line Peronist faction, thus hastening the definitive decapitation of Deolindo Bittel.

This is how things stood a few hours before Balbin's death. It was a perfect occasion to postpone the debate. Perhaps the "mourning" would last for several days. But a mere postponement cannot conceal the fact that it is the survival of the multiparty group that is at stake.

The exclusive representation (vis-a-vis the multiparty group) of the CGT has been pushed by Lorenzo Miguel, Herminio Iglesias, Sarboli and others. They speculate that if they have the approval of the Radicals, they will "in practice" also have the approval of the government and in passing bring about the demise of the CNT [National Labor Commission]. Miguel quite obviously wants to become the hub of the Peronist union-Casa Rosada dialogue (through the multiparty group).

Perhaps this dispute made Bittel think that "Isabelita's" trip might resolve it in some way and facilitate the formation of a broader front in support of his strategy. But as we know, Isabel did not take the trip. If she wanted to show up in Buenos Aires, the right time would have been before Balbin's death. She had stated that "for my part, there is no difficulty whatsoever." Just as she had traveled from Marbella to Madrid, she would have merely changed planes and continued on to Buenos Aires, she added. To her, the idea was "brilliant." She could reassume the leadership of the party (and what about the institutional document's ban?) by attacking the weakest link in the arguments against her: she would travel to Buenos Aires on the grounds that she wanted to see Dr Ricardo Balbin before he died. Realizing that the government would be unlikely to stop her, Isabel would thus become the "prima donna" on the Peronist stage, the star who would take the place of the fading Bittel. She anticipated that the government would, in practice, acknowledge her primacy in the Peronist leadership, while all doubts would be dispelled as to "who's who" in the realm of the caste-like legacy left by Peron. It was taken for granted that Bittel would follow two paces behind her like a prince consort. He would be a mere accessory. According to these bizarre forecasts (that is the proper word for them at this point in the story), Isabel would join in Liendo's "dialogue" within 4 or 6 months, at the most.

But a timely piece of advice helped her get her feet back on the ground. This was what she was betting on: "I travel to Buenos Aires, settle the CGT-CNT affair, consolidate Bittel's presence in the multiparty group by firmly embracing Balbin...while the Superior Council, beginning with Bittel himself and followed by Robledo, Arauz, Castex, Anchorena, Camus, Unamuno, Saadi and all the rest, issues a declaration expressing unequivocal support for me as president of the movement and Peron's heir."

Mrs Peron was asking for so little! When she emerged from her reverie, a few voices whispered in her ear that a matter of such consequence could not be taken care of, as she, ever ignorant, thought, in just a few hours and amid the special circumstances prompted by Balbin's death. Peron's widow thus stayed in Madrid. One after another, the dispatches bounced back from Buenos Aires to Madrid in the form of news items from the peninsula when in reality the entire mess had been concocted in this city of "the good airs," as Pedro de Mendoza had described it...

The fact is that above and beyond Isabel's dreaming, Balbin's death will force the multiparty group to examine carefully and in detail the strategy that it has pursued so far. The going will get "tough" because everything boils down to determining which policy or what force prevails over the others. We know that Balbin was the one encouraging opposition to exclusive CGT representation. Pugliese had to step in to stop the Vanoli-Troccoli duo from lobbying against the deceased caudillo's stand. But now that he is dead, it is hard to say whether the opposition will continue with equal force. There are those who feel that the influence of the Radicals in the multiparty group will diminish from this point on. This feeling is so strong, in fact, that circles close to the "pentagon" conjectured on the night of Friday the 11th that from now on the negotiations among its components would be smoother to the extent that the Troccoli-Alfonsin duo managed to keep something of a handle on the internal situation in the UCR, at least as long as necessary so that a number of steps and decisions to be taken could become "accomplished facts," that is to say, irreversible.

#### Impact on the Government (IV)

General Viola was surely somewhat pleased with the applause that he heard as he left the headquarters of Radicalism's National Committee after standing for a few minutes in front of Dr Balbin's coffin, although he very likely did not hear the other shouts about the Process that were not that supportive. Such outbursts were more audible during the burial ceremony at La Plata Cemetery.

Nevertheless, General Viola's decision to attend the wake at Radicalism's headquarters was a well-thought-out move. The government examined several options. The strongest show of support would have been to sign a decree declaring the day of Balbin's death a national day of mourning. This would have meant granting him a status just slightly below that accorded deceased presidents. Others suggested that representatives of the three branches of the Armed Forces be officially present at his interment. The government also considered whether it was proper to station a detachment of grenadiers by the coffin (as long as the wake took place outside party premises, that is to say, at the National Congress, as had been mentioned), and there were also those who pushed the idea that the president could designate a permanent honor guard in which his 19 advisers would alternate. Of course these suggestions, some of which were expressed in just a few lines, received little consideration. As we said, the nation's president merely showed up for a few minutes.

Above and beyond the protocol, Balbin's death obviously had an immediate impact on the feasibility of several plans having to do with the "political initiative" that the government is promoting. By the time Dr Balbin passed away, no observer of the national political scene could fail to sense the increasing activity and ties between the five parties and some of the Casa Rosada's political vehicles.

To those who think that the multiparty group could represent an electoral option in 1984, Balbin's death poses question marks that are not easy to erase. Any rapprochement with the government in the direction that we talked about earlier is now tied to the course of events within the Radical movement and, consequently, in the multiparty group. In short, all forecasts have to be revised.

With Balbin alive, the course seemed easy enough to chart. The deceased caudillo was prepared to reach a common ground that would make possible a pact under which Radicals, Peronists and members of the Integration and Development Movement (MID) would support a man from the Process as president in 1984, a man with enough power to fill his cabinet and the intermediate levels of his administration with people from their political factions. More than one presidential adviser probably heard that "idea" from the lips of Dr Balbin himself. But now that Balbin is dead, which ears will retain the memory of the idea and attest to these potential agreements?

#### Balbin's Legacy

Buenos Aires A FONDO in Spanish Sep 81 pp 6-7

[Article by Mariano Grondona: "The Belated Lesson of Harmony"]

[Text] We are beginning to explore post-Balbin Argentina. And no sooner do we take a spin around this unknown landscape than we realize one essential fact: that Balbin's death, though less important "in itself" than Peron's death 7 years ago, is more important than Peron's death "to the system" that the two embodied.

The Argentina of Peron and Balbin (and of Frondizi), which was born in 1946, did not die on 1 July 1974 when Peron died. Balbin prolonged it for 7 more years. But on 9 September 1981, that Argentina began its march into the past, because the only survivor of the 1946 troika, Frondizi, can no longer support it alone on his shoulders.

Something similar had, in fact, occurred in 1942. During that fateful year, the three figures who dominated the Argentine political system, President Ortiz, and former Presidents Alvear and Justo, passed away almost simultaneously. The Justo-Alvear-Ortiz triumvirate or troika meant three things to Argentina in 1942: reconciliation between conservatives and radicals, a return to democracy and sympathy for the Allies in World War II. But Kronos, who devours his children and plays with history "like a child with toy soldiers"



(in the words of Heraclitus), swept them from the stage. There was a long intermission. The curtain rose again in 1946. The new leads were Peron, president, and Balbin and Frondizi, the natural leaders of the opposing Radical bloc. Unlike the Argentina of 1942, the Argentina of 1946 was antagonistic, not too democratic and anti-Western.

It is only now, looking back with today's perspective, that we can see to what extent Peron-Balbin-Frondizi formed the new troika for 30 years. They were...a "system," in the sense of an order of interrelationships. From 1946 to 1955 they held their places: Peron in power versus Balbin and Frondizi as the rising stars of the opposition, a fervent, moral opposition in Balbin, and a rational, ideological opposition in Frondizi. The 1951 presidential election pitted Peron against the UCD ticket, Balbin-Frondizi. The troika's second configuration took shape between 1955 and 1959: a Frondizi-Peron pact, with the former assuming the presidency, and extremely strong opposition from Balbin. Between 1958 and 1962, however, the break between Frondizi and Peron led to a third configuration for the troika: each man for himself. There were fresh schemes in 1962 and 1963: while Balbin offered Peron an institutional pact with an eye towards a joint preservation of the republic (the Assembly of Civilians), Frondizi formed the abortive National and People's Front with Peron. Illia was victorious on the only occasion when Balbin could have and should have become president.

In 1966, both Peron and Frondizi unleashed an avalanche against Illia, and the military coup followed. The year 1973 was something of a repeat of 1962-63: Balbin offered Peron the institutional pact of a shared, competitive democracy with mutual respect between Radicals and Peronists, while Frondizi joined a election front dominated by Peronism, the Justicialista National Liberation Front (FREJULI). During that year's time, Balbin essayed his third and fourth presidential candidacies. He was the eternal bridesmaid. The other two members of the troika had their ups and downs. Balbin remained in the middle, like an axis or reference point.

In a way, the opportunity that Ricardo Balbin lost in 1963 marked a turning point in his life. Up to then he had been a man "of" the party; emotional, he was in the forefront of the various phobias of his time: he was, successively, an anti-Conservative, an anti-Peronist and an anti-Frondizite. As of 1963, his presidential prospects gone, he began to play the role of universal mediator, operating "out of" the party: among UCD factions, among parties, between parties and the military.

This is why I feel that Balbin's death is even more important to the Argentine political system than Peron's death. The troika lost its first member in 1974, but the system did not cease to exist. Let's make ourselves clear. Peron's death deprived Peronism of a realistic chance to govern; 2 years later, the party's powerlessness was beyond question. In this sense, 1976 was the result of 1974. But the 1946 troika, though diminished, continued to influence the heart of the system because Balbin, its central figure, was still performing his functions as universal mediator. He finally "called"

"Peronism" into the Interparty Commission and took a step towards consolidating the process of convergence by reaching a reconciliation with Arturo Frondizi. Balbin kept the system flying like the primary engine in an aircraft. With one engine out, the plane continued to fly. On 9 September, the entire interplay of actions and reactions that we have known since 1946 fell to earth. Frondizi, the sole survivor, will no longer be able to preserve what remains of the system. Argentina is back to 1942 again. Another cycle begins. Balbin's death, rather than Peron's death, is the dividing line between two eras.

In 1946, Peron was 51, Balbin 42 and Frondizi 37. It was the beginning of an era. In 1974, Peron was 78, Balbin 70 and Frondizi 61. The era was nearing its twilight. In 1981, Balbin is dead at 77, and Frondizi is in his 72nd year. The twilight has arrived. The troika of Peron-Balbin-Frondizi that was formed in 1946 under the sign of the passions that Peron aroused and that continued in 1958 under the sign of the passions that Frondizi aroused, has reached its end under the sign of the reconciliations that Balbin promoted. But they had fought each other for too long; when it came time to build things together, they arrived in time only to say good-bye.

Strangely enough, the same thing happened to the members of the previous troika. The 1930's were filled with the chronicles of Radical-Conservative hostility. At the outset of the 1940's, reconciliation was in the air. Justo and Alvear, through Ortiz, imagined a reconciled, democratic Argentina "victorious" through its wager on the Allies in the Second World War. They came too late. Death snatched them, paving the way for the second troika, its phobias and its belated acquisition of wisdom as well.

We can therefore perhaps conclude that 1981 marks the end not only of the cycle of squabbling among Peronism, Radicalism and the MID but also of that other cycle of squabbling between Radicals and Conservatives that Justo and Alvear had embodied in the 1930's. These are the 50 years of our institutional instability. When it arrives, might the new troika, the one we do not yet know, employ the wisdom that its forerunners eventually developed as its starting point? Would it be asking too much this time to have the lesson of harmony put before the unfolding of the new era, instead of becoming its belated fruit, to have the knowledge of the past genetically transferred to the immediate future? Perhaps eras transmigrate. If this is possible, it is not unreasonable to hope that the third era and the third troika of contemporary Argentina will be born, now that Balbin is gone, with an innate, inherited wisdom: the wisdom of reconciliation.

Instability is the fruit of discriminatory systems. When a major portion of the country is left out, it eventually returns with the resulting upheavals. This country, any country, is the sum of the few who have much and of the many who have little. Man has known this ever since Aristotle wrote down his theory of revolutions in Book V of "Politics." If we design the country only for the many who have little or only for the few who have much, the revenge of today's losers will be tomorrow's instability. We have to design

a complete country. Balbin was proceeding towards the light of this teaching and after arranging a reconciliation with Peron and with Frondizi, he was perhaps aiming at a reconciliation with the military and with that whole, big, scattered "conservative legacy," as we might call it. Death took him by surprise, as it did Moses, before he reached the promised land. After Moses, however, the Jews reached their destination.

#### Effects on Multiparty Efforts

Buenos Aires SOMOS in Spanish 11 Sep 81 pp 4-11

[Excerpts] As the medical reports disclosed that his death was unavoidable, his political succession became an issue for analysis and speculation inside and outside Radicalism. In 1974, the plenary session of the National Committee elected Ricardo Balbin its chairman for the fifth consecutive time (the first was in 1959), and the caudillo said that evening: "I swear on my honor that this is the last service that I will perform for my party and the country." Seven years later, few things (or names) had changed in the party's internal structure.

In discussing his possible successor, we should recall that the Radical command structure rests on two pillars: the Board of Directors of the National Committee and the Advisory Commission, which comprise the party's notables. The former is chaired by Carlos Contin, from Entre Rios (who replaced the now deceased Raul Zarrielo as first deputy chairman), and is made up of secretaries Francisco Rabanal (Buenos Aires), Luis Leon (Chaco), Victor Martinez and Horacio Garcia (Cordoba), treasurer Alfredo Mosso (Mendoza) and assistant treasurer Raul Galvan (La Rioja).

The Advisory Commission consists of Antonio Troccoli, Carlos Perette, Juan Carlos Pugliese, Juan Trilla, Eduardo Angeloz, Raul Alfonsin and Rodolfo Garcia Leyenda. To many UCD watchers, it is the real seat of power because its members have the most political influence. In March 1978, the arteries in Balbin's right leg were found to be blocked (a result of his chronic smoking), and he decided to undergo an operation. Prior to it, however, he wanted to fashion his strategy to avoid confrontations or personal hostilities among the leadership during his convalescence and with his eye on the complex times that lay ahead. This was why he formed the Advisory Commission, which guaranteed stable leadership under men of consequence who supported his policies (Troccoli and Perette were presidents of the blocs of deputies and senators, respectively, in the last Congress), but while leaving room for the opposition, as represented by Raul Alfonsin from Buenos Aires. By that time Balbin was already telling his closest friends who came to visit him in La Plata that a group system was the best way to contain personal ambitions or the interests of opposing factions.

Now that Balbin is dead, the formal leadership has passed to Carlos Contin, and even the people closest to Balbin deny that the Radical chief has left behind a political document or testament "other than his austere lifestyle

(he bought his La Plata house with the proceeds from one of the first loans that the Bar Association granted him), his ethical sense and his republican struggle." Moreover, the top Radical echelon has stressed that great men can be replaced only by good organizational structures, and there is no dissent as to the presidency of Carlos Contin. Carlos Perette told SOMOS that "There won't be any sort of one-man rule now, because we didn't even have that under Balbin. He was a charismatic leader within the party and he devised the impersonality of the system that a group mandate will assure."

Of course this will be until the Political Parties Statute is approved and the stage is set for internal party elections. From that point on, all indications are that it will be a different party. The fact is that no matter how much top Radical leaders try to avoid discussing the issue when newsmen or strangers are around, all of the levels of Radicalism (as well as the offices of the president and the Interior Ministry) are talking about the men with the best chance to place their own seal on party decisions and to show that they are right choice for the dialogue with the military government and the other political parties. In these circles there is a great deal of talk about Antonio Troccoli, Juan Carlos Pugliese, Raul Alfonsin, Carlos Perette and Eduardo Angeloz as the men with the best chances.

Those who are most familiar with the inner workings of Radicalism say that its top leaders tended in recent years to move towards the middle of the road, which grew under Balbin's shadow. To put it differently, with Balbin at the center, there is a left wing and a right wing, both predisposed to lean towards the point of equilibrium marked by the old caudillo, and where Pugliese and Troccoli stand out. The leftist Radical faction allegedly includes men like Raul Alfonsin and Carlos Perette, stubborn antimilitarists who have taken the hardest-line stance vis-a-vis the military government. Our analysis should not overlook, however, that whoever becomes president of the Radical Civic Union will have to garner a consensus in three key election districts: the Federal Capital, Buenos Aires and Cordoba.

Carlos Contin has inherited the leadership of the party, but Radical circles say that his biggest political liability is his lack of association with the various factions, although all of the people around him are Balbinists. Eduardo Angeloz and Fernando de la Rúa are still regarded as young politicians, and although (as in Angeloz's case) they are acknowledged to carry their own political weight, they are not yet seen as having sufficient national standing to head up the party. It is said that Angeloz will have to acquire this seasoning by becoming governor of Cordoba, for example, and that de la Rúa (even though he was a senator) will have to undergo additional stiff tests before he can aspire to high-level posts in the party structure. Luis Leon has a great deal of strength in Chaco, and he is backed by many dissident members, but his fault-finding stands in recent times (especially against the government) caused him to lose a lot of points.

Also on the list of likely successors are the two men who have the best chance and who apparently enjoy the broadest consensus within the party: Antonio Troccoli and Juan Carlos Pugliese. The chairman of the Buenos Aires



provincial committee, it is said, does not have the makeup of a born caudillo, but he is respected for his ability to offer clear and consistently Radical solutions to the most acute problems, although some circles say that his very impulsive nature could diminish his chances. Antonio Troccoli is not recognized as a caudillo either, but he enjoys enormous prestige within the party and along with Pugliese, he is responsible for formulating the economic policy that the party advocates. According to the comments being made behind the scenes in the UCR, the only man who might successfully oppose them is Raul Alfonsin, the fiery orator from Chascomus who waged a hard-fought election battle with Ricardo Balbin in 1972 and who is regarded as a very strong figure in the provincial committees of Buenos Aires and Misiones. The undisputed boss of the Renovation and Change Movement is perhaps the leader who visited the most committees around the country in recent times, and he will be a major factor in the negotiations at the top echelon of Radicalism. Some UCR watchers do not even hesitate to assert that he already has the number two spot (after Troccoli) guaranteed. The people who say this are looking closely at the great numbers of young people who are reportedly in a position to return to (or begin) party activities when the Interior Ministry declares that the ban on political organizations is over.

Many people are wondering whether that will mark the start of a caudillo-less era in our country. Antonio Troccoli, who has the best chance to replace the deceased head man, told SOMOS: "Countries need to promote the development and consolidation of outstanding figures who by virtue of their political authority can bring people together and coordinate and guide political processes. Some believe that the presence of such figures is counter-productive; they do not realize the leading role that they play or the need for them to be present to preserve the orderly functioning of the political process."

One thing remains certain. In spite of the tact and discretion that Radicalism showed during the gravely ill Balbin's last days, the prospect of his permanent absence sent tremors through its ranks. A feature writer who spent several days making his way through La Plata disclosed that one group of Radicals could not resign themselves to losing the leadership, guidance and counsel of their chief and clung to the hope that Balbin would recover. Someone from another group said: "There's no hope. Even if he survives, he won't be able to engage in politics anymore."

The reply spelled out an entire philosophy: "That doesn't matter. Balbin ought to be our leader even if he's in a wheelchair. We would go and see him at home and consult with him on basic issues."

How did Ricardo Balbin get to be the public figure that we was?

In 1931 a group of Radical youths were walking the streets of La Plata looking for a candidate for president of the first section. Since the likely prospects were not around or refused to run, one fellow came out and said: "Why don't you do it, Ricardo?" It was Balbin's first party post. He was 27 years old.

Some months later he was a candidate for deputy. He won his seat, but the administration of Gen Jose Felix Uriburu annulled the election. He was a candidate again in 1940, but this time for the Buenos Aires legislature, and he was much criticized for running in an election that was presumed fraudulent. Balbin responded: "Just behave the way you ought to in an election, and if there is fraud, I will renounce my seat." He renounced his seat, along with Crisologo Larralde, who had won a senatorial race.

In 1946, he finally assumed a post to which he had been elected and joined the famous group of 44 deputies who opposed Juan Domingo Peron. "Although it was my debut," he recalled years later, "I was appointed president of the bloc. I trembled like a schoolboy being tested by tough teachers." In those days there was already talk of his magnificent voice, his mastery of metaphor and the impact of his oratory. Another deputy who was beginning to put himself through his paces was Arturo Frondizi. While Balbin attacked Peronism because of its mass media monopoly, the lack of freedom of expression, its police-state tactics, the Peron personality cult and Eva Peron's handling of Foundation funds, Frondizi took aim at the regime's economic blunders.

Such criticism prompted serious confrontations with the ruling party bloc, which resolved the problem by expelling Balbin from the House in 1949. Without congressional immunity and with several suits pending, Balbin was arrested and taken to Olmos Prison. The physician there was a young otorhinolaryngologist by the name of Carlos Di Rago, who was to announce his death 32 years later.

At the 1951 elections the Peron-Quijano ticket garnered 4,744,803 votes, to 2,416,712 for Balbin-Frondizi. While government repression grew more harsh, the opposition of the Radicals represented an annoying thorn in Peronism's side, and Balbin was the target of its attacks. His appearances in public (in city squares or parks) were accompanied by incidents triggered by government die-hards and eventually resulting in the arrest of the speaker and his followers. Recalling those times, Balbin said years later: "That's a forgotten chapter. I only remember that they expelled me from the House and that I was arraigned several dozen times."

Frondizi took over as chairman of the National Committee in 1951, while Balbin began his lengthy wanderings from house to house to avoid arrest. On 27 July 1955, the Peronist government, held in check, allowed Frondizi to deliver a radio address. Other political leaders also talked on radio (after 9 years); Peron replied with a stinging speech and banned the opposition from the airwaves. On 16 September he was toppled by the Liberating Revolution.

On 9 November 1956, Ricardo Balbin faced off with his former running mate. Frondizi summoned the party's National Convention to Tucuman to nominate the ticket for the upcoming presidential election, and he was chosen to head it up. This caused Balbin to withdraw, because he had wanted the ticket to be chosen by a direct vote of the members.

A break was unavoidable. While Frondizi founded the Intransigent Radical Civic Union, Balbin remained with the existing trunk of the Radical Civic Union and added the words "of the People." At the Constitutional Assembly elections of 1957, which Americo Gholdi described as "a rough tally," Balbin got 2,117,160 votes, to Frondizi's 1,821,459. But the blank votes (ordered by Peron) were to decide the next election, which was held in February 1958. Balbin's presidential hopes were frustrated for the second time. The Frondizi-Gomez ticket (with Peronist backing) won by more than a million votes.

The enmity between them grew. The Radicals attacked the government over the oil contracts. Frondizi was overthrown in 1962, and elections were called in 1963. Balbin did not run. Skeptics said that it was because "he doesn't think his party can win." Nevertheless, the Radical ticket headed by Arturo Illia won the election by a plurality.

Balbin defeated Raul Alfonsin in the party elections of 1972 and drifted away from his disciple.

According to political observers, this marked the beginning of the other period in Balbin's life. The coalition of Radicals and Peronists was in the works, and it resulted in the "Hour of the People," which demanded that the Lanusse government call elections immediately. Balbin made a political mistake: he failed to realize that immediate elections were more to Peron's benefit than his.

Peron returned to the country on 17 November 1972 and spoke with Balbin at the Nino Restaurant and at his home on Gaspar Campos. He praised him: "I'll go anywhere with Balbin." Balbin ran for president again but was defeated by Hector Campora. Campora's resignation forced another election, and Peron bested him by almost five million votes.

During Isabel's time in office, the power vacuum and corruption became intolerable.

Balbin, however, said: "We are advocates of stability and democracy, which at times makes us look ridiculous in light of the tremendous blunders that are being made on a daily basis. Our institutions are irreplaceable, however. This administration must complete its term, even if on crutches..."

In spite of this stand, which brought rage and ill-will down on him, Americo Gholdi, a political adversary, said of him as he stood by his coffin:

"A lot of people ask me in the street what I gained from my political dealings with Ricardo Balbin. This is not the time for confessions. But I can say that we had major methodological differences with Balbin, in spite of which I thought highly of him as an embodiment of the noble, romantic, modern political caudillo, as well as of his idealism and political persistence. As far as political activism is concerned, I met him in the

1930's, when the Argentine people started to become mentally and politically confused, that is to say, when we saw the first systematic workings of what we could call the beginning of Argentine fascism and a regression from our traditional, democratic views. This was also the start of a bleak period for Argentine elections, as universal suffrage was muddled and doctored. More than 50 years have passed, a half century. The bottom line for me on Ricardo Balbin was that he was an eminent citizen, a representative of a political movement that is firmly established in the country. And I'm not talking only about Radicalism as a party, as an institution, but also about a *modus operandi* in Argentine life, a movement that has been around since 1890, operating in every channel and dealing with every problem in the republic and having its own individual personality, a personality that made possible the emergence of what we could call the modern, up-to-date, responsive caudillo."

As an endless line of people paraded through the Pedro Duhalde Room at Radical headquarters, many sidestepped the irrelevant and posed key questions: Will Balbin's death affect the march of the Process? Has the government lost a master key for assuring that its political strategy is executed? Could the formation of a civilian pole that cannot possibly coexist with the military now be hastened?

To many observers, the first signs will come from the multiparty group, which will now have to act (and enhance itself politically) without its promoter's ability to rally the troops. All of the Radical sources consulted say that Carlos Contin will not alter the spirit that Balbin had implanted in the political pentagon made up of Radicals, Peronists, MID-ites, Intransigents and Christian Democrats, while others comment in a low voice that "Radicalism won't allow its status as the summoning party and, therefore, as the leading voice to be snatched from it."

Moreover, there are those in the administration who say that in the wake of the caudillo's death, the problem will be with Peronism, not Radicalism, because more than a few political advisers saw Balbin as a skillful bargainer in dealing with, and controlling, the impulses of the hardest-line Peronist factions. Casa Rosada sources are concluding for now that there will be no changes or jolts in relations with Radicalism and the multiparty group, although they hasten to add: "For now."

These spokesmen have their attention focused on next March, inasmuch as the government could issue the new Political Parties Statute in February, and along with internal party elections, this could give rise to systematic attacks on the military government, which would make it difficult to achieve a controlled coexistence so that the country could make it to March 1984 in one piece. For the time being, however, government strategists are wagering that the structure set up by Balbin to run the UCR will not alter its tack and, above all, that it will not form a common front with Peronism to put pressure on the government.



But there are other unavoidable questions: did the latter-day Balbin (the Hour of the People, the talks with Peron, his quasi-support for Isabel, the rapprochement with Frondizi-Frigerio, the multiparty group) serve the country, his party, genuine democracy, the republican purpose? Perhaps history will furnish the definitive answers. One thing is undeniably certain, however: There was a glaring gap between the Balbin who spoke out against tyranny in the 1950's with arguments of morality and the Balbin who in the face of the flagrant rape of the republic (republic as de Tocqueville and Montesquieu meant it, the virtuous models of Sebastian Soler) stubbornly kept up his conciliatory dialogue, perhaps without realizing that a true democrat cannot and must not sit down at the same table with those who reject the most elementary ground rules of democracy. The political analysts who are fond of shadings, nuances and very deep subtleties will say until the end of time that the latter-day Balbin was a pragmatist who adapted his philosophy to his times and to his country's circumstances. The others, the more rigid, will prefer (rightly or wrongly) to remember him as firm, intransigent, rebuking and never willing to come to terms with ideas or men whose back is turned to democracy.

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CSO: 3010/59

## FORMER PRESIDENT CRITICIZES U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

PY132246 Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 9 Oct 81 p 4

[Text] Sao Paulo--"For God's sake, believe me: I am a socialist," former President Janio Quadros stated yesterday during a chat with reporters while he was awaiting a report from deputies Rafael Baldacci and Jose Storopoli who presented his affiliation request to the National Board of the Brazilian Democratic Mobilization Party [PMDB] in Brasilia. Quadros told passages of his life, especially with "Che" Guevara, because the anniversary of the death of the guerrilla leader was celebrated yesterday.

The former president revealed that he dislikes two things: stupid men and ugly women. Regarding his meetings with former civil household chief Golbery do Couto e Silva, he stated: "Golbery is one of the most brilliant men I know. His little books are antological."

Guevara was an idealist, a saint, a type of Saint Francis of Assisi, a profoundly intelligent man. One day he told me that he had been given the task of liberating the peoples who are subjugated on this side of America. When I was told that he was in Bolivia, I feared for his death, because that was a U.S. "Ranger" [given in English] country. "It was the United States that led Fidel Castro to Marxism-Leninism," Quadros stated.

He said he was for the legalization of the PCB "as long as they accept the many party system, as it exists in France, Great Britain and Italy." He added: "If that multi-party system is accepted by the PCB, then I will dispute with Sobral Pinto the right to be the first to sign a document asking for the legalization of the PCB." The former president reaffirmed that "there is no possibility for him to join the PDS [Social Democratic Party] in case he is rejected by the PMDB, although he did not deny that if that is the case, he might even run for the state government under a different party membership such as the PTB [Brazilian Labor Party].

Quadros criticized the U.S. foreign policy, and stated that "they are imbeciles in this field." They ended up pushing Castro toward the socialist world. "The impression one has is that the earth was thrown into the hands of the U.S. people and they, in turn, think that it is a ball with which American football is played, and what is worse, we Brazilians are in that ball."

CSO: 3001/7

## PAPERS COMMENT ON U.S. VICE PRESIDENT'S VISIT

PY202127 [Editorial Report] Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese in its 18 October edition publishes on page 3 a 900-word editorial on U.S. Vice President George Bush's visit to Brazil under the title "Bush and the Hemisphere." The editorial focuses on Bush's speech to the Inter-American Press Association [IAPA] assembly and praised it for its "combativeness, its ease in going straight to the point, its frankness in arguing with little concern for pleasing, but rather defining a position."

The editorial then notes that "if Bush used in his diplomatic talks language similar to that he used in his speech to the IAPA, he may have made some impression, because from the affirmation that the time of weakness and confusion has ended and that no country ever went to war because it was too strong, he quite naturally went on to affirm that the United States will not dictate policy to anyone, but it will consult with everyone. The bluntness with which he outlined the problems and announced solutions is the same for the question of rearmament, defense of the dollar, and stopping the expansion of Soviet-Cuban influence on the continent."

The editorial then mentions Bush's call on the Sandinists to practice political pluralism and to really choose the path to democracy so that they can find friends on the continent, including the United States at the top of the list. It goes on to say that the gesture toward the Sandinists perhaps reflects the general orientation of the policy which Reagan wants to practice on a worldwide scale: never give in and never preclude the opportunity for negotiation. The editorial concludes by saying that Bush's speech to the IAPA session explained, in many points, the reason for his visit to Brasilia.

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese on 16 October carries a 600-word front page editorial entitled "Equitable Partnership"--a phrase with which Vice President Bush expressed the U.S. wish to maintain with Brazil an association of equals.

The editorial then argues that such a wish runs afoul of directives and procedures of the new U.S. administration: "One cannot say that either the White House or the U.S. Congress harbors any specific ill-will against Brazil. However, the Brazilian interests, which have been so adversely affected by the successive impacts of the world economic crisis, have run into new difficulties stemming from a U.S. policy basically addressed to dealing with internal problems, an individualist and protectionist policy whose greater burden of sacrifices falls on members of the Western alliance."

"In view of that policy with such broad effects, this question must be asked: Up to what point will the search for a better understanding between Brazil and the United States spare us, for instance, from the disastrous effect of the high interest rates caused by Reagan's monetary program, or save us from losing IBRD favored credits as the result of Reagan's 'graduation' thesis for application to the granting of international loans?

"It is quite obvious that, other than eventual changes brought about by the evolution of the U.S. economy or Reagan's program, improvement prospects through the bilateral route are practically nil."

The O GLOBO editorial ends by saying that, although the problems in bilateral relations have greater or lesser probabilities for solution, they are neither so serious or complex as to jeopardize the normal workings of a partnership, even though it is not yet equitable.

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese on 17 October 1981 publishes on page 10 a 500-word editorial entitled "Talk Between Friends," saying that Vice President Bush's visit to Brazil was only natural because the change of government in Washington made necessary a redefinition of U.S. objectives in essential political geographical areas.

The editorial states: "The most fruitful debates take place between friends. Whenever there is no friendship nor common interests, the exchange of ideas runs into one or two impassable roadblocks right at the start. Then no exchange of ideas can take place, and rhetoric, subterfuge and finally hypocrisy comes into play--as can be often seen in certain types of joint communiques making references to 'the undying friendship of peoples,' 'the unswerving dedication to the cause of peace,' etc.

"Fortunately, Brazil and the United States do not need that kind of rhetoric. Their basic interests are common interests and their relationship is based on geographic, cultural and economic facts. Upon this foundation, the variety of those interests and of that relationship opens a spectrum of options for permanent and joint discussion. This is the explanation for so many visits and for the fact that they are conducted in a discreet and natural atmosphere," JORNAL DO BRASIL concludes.

CSO: 3001/8



## QUESTIONING OF REAGAN'S MIDDLE EAST STRATEGY NOTED

PY121702 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 9 Oct 81 p 3

[From the "Notes and Information" page: "Reagan's Strategy Being Questioned"]

[Excerpt] The assassination of President al-Sadat left Washington in stunned surprise and forced the executive branch and Congress to pause to reflect about U.S. policy in the Middle East. At a moment when a little-known figure such as Husni Mubarak is elected president, some senators in the Capitol, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee among them, are betting on the prediction that another man will be ruling Egypt within 6 months. When a prediction such as this can be made there are reasons to ponder about the opinion of those who believe that the U.S. policy in the Middle East should be revised. Up until not too long ago that policy was anchored on four pillars, namely, Israel, Shah Pahlavi's Iran, al-Sadat's Egypt and the Saudi Arabia of the Wahhabite monarchy.

Iran is ruled today by the Islamic revolutionaries of the Ayatollah Khomeiny who see the United States as the embodiment of satan. Egypt is entering a difficult period when the forces responsible for the killing of al-Sadat will try to lead the country into the Arab fold. At a moment of tension enhanced by the discussion over the AWACS system's sale promised by Reagan, Saudi Arabia is anxiously watching the unfolding of that discussion between the U.S. executive and legislative branches, the outcome of which is vitally important for the Saudi Government as to whether it can trust U.S. promises and leadership. And Israel seems to be more isolated in the Middle East. It seems, at this pause for reflection, that Reagan's entire military strategy--the sale of the AWACS system and the nuclear rearmament program with its MX missiles and B-1 bombers--is being questioned.

A bad omen for that strategy is the fact that 1 day after the assassination of al-Sadat, the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee rejected the AWACS system sale by 28 to 8 vote. The question now is whether the Israeli lobby will be powerful enough to mobilize the overwhelming majority to vote in favor of Israel. The argument can be made for avoiding the repetition of what happened in Iran where the most sophisticated U.S. weapons fell in the hands of enemies. The question is extremely delicate because, as intended by those who propose it, the sale is designed to prevent the repetition of what happened in Iran. Reagan is engaged in a hard struggle with the Senate and he is mobilizing the support of all former presidents, former secretaries of state and former Pentagon's heads while calling for the need to maintain party discipline in the Republican bloc (the majority in the Senate) in order to save his strategy as well as domestic and foreign credibility in his leadership. The outcome of this struggle is as yet unpredictable.

CSO: 3001/7

## AL-QADHDHAFI ATTITUDE ON AL-SADAT DEATH SCORED

PY091956 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 8 Oct 81 p 3

[From "Notes and Information" page: "Affront to the Community of Nations"]

[Text] While thousands of Libyans took to the streets of Tripoli--as other people did in Damascus, Beirut and Tehran--to celebrate the death of "the tyrant and traitor of the Egyptians," the government of Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi practically assumed responsibility for the attempt against the Egyptian president by warning that it will eliminate any and every chief of state who tries to follow al-Sadat's political line. In view of this confession, which sounds like a slap in the face of the international community which abides by international law, there is no need for the suspicions and speculations raised by knowledgeable observers of the world arena such as Kissinger and Brzezinski who said that very likely (!) al-Qadhdhafi's Libyans were involved in the assassination of Anwar al-Sadat.

The Tripoli government's official declaration dispels any guarded manifestation of suspicions, because it amounts to a confession that terrorism is the basis of the political action of many in the Middle East and Europe. In the official declaration carried by the Libyan Government's press agency JANA, al-Qadhdhafi promises and vows to continue with his policy of terrorism--this is a contradiction in terms because policy as the exercise of legal power does not recognize terrorism as a means of action, and terrorism as a senseless and illegal practice is not a policy approved by the laws of states and the international community. Al-Qadhdhafi said: "At this time we congratulate all Arab revolutionaries who oppose Israel, racism and the Camp David treaty and we warn that all those who should try to follow al-Sadat's path will have the same fate of the Egyptian president."

We are facing a state which proclaims that its reason for existing and acting on the international stage is the practice of terrorism. According to the testimony of al-Sadat himself--given in the last interview he granted, an extensive interview which O ESTADO carries elsewhere in today's issue--Libya's map is speckled with numerous camps where terrorists are trained, where "outlaws" come from various parts of the world and polish their skills in using the most refined and modern means afforded by present technology. It is time for the "outlaws" to be placed in quarantine and for "outlaw" states to receive sanctions from the civilized nations that are organized under the aegis of international law. It must be understood that we are dealing with individuals--and also states now--who not merely violate international law, but place themselves "outside the law,"

and consequently outside its protection. International law came into being in the era of Europocentrism--a synonym for colonialism and imperialism--through the coalescence of norms that civilization imposed on the dominant nations of that time which were alternately in peace or at war.

The juridical concepts of peace and war, aggression and intervention, national security and international security were thus formulated. Wars among states were not a crime. However, the dominant states acted against the pirates who were "outside the law" by resorting to force, intervention and raids on their hiding places and then by throwing them into the seas or tying them to galleys.

Political terrorism--modern-day piracy--is the distinctive mark of our time. Political terrorism is a modern scourge which has to be eradicated by the concerted action of all civilized nations. After all, terrorism does not only kill individuals but chiefs of state as well--and with the institutionalized support of terrorist regimes.

How long will the international community tolerate the existence of regimes and even states which with impunity adopt terrorism as their distorted rationality so as to destroy regimes and statesmen whose true rationality stand for peace and reconciliation?

CSO: 3001/7

## BRIEFS

**PROSECUTION OF CHAMBER MEMBER REJECTED**--The Brazilian Chamber of Deputies has remained faithful to its tradition and rejected by 168 votes against 70 and 12 abstentions the request submitted by the Supreme Federal Court to prosecute Deputy Gilson de Barros (PMDB-MT) [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party--Mato Grosso State] for assaulting watchman Marcos Nazario da Silva on 4 December last year. This decision was reached in a secret session. Otherwise known as the Incredible Hulk, Gilson de Barros was moved by the applause which shook the plenary meeting of the chamber and said that the 70 votes against had been cast "by the PDS [Social Democratic Party], the government." PMDB bloc leader Odacir Klein had defended his party comrade by saying that he had already been punished by a warning of the Executive Board. Every one of the speakers mentioned the need to protect parliamentary immunity. [Text] [Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 8 Oct p 1]

**DESIRES RIFLES SALE TO NATO**--Brasilia (O GLOBO)--The Brazilian Ordnance Industry [IMBEL] has begun studies of the 5.56 caliber rifle with the objective of producing them. In a report to O GLOBO yesterday, Gen Arnaldo Balderari, president of IMBEL, an enterprise linked to the army, stated that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is willing to change its rifle to the 5.56 caliber. Given the possibility of producing them, IMBEL will be able to supply this weapon to that organization. [Excerpt] [Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 13 Oct 81 p 16]

**FOREIGN LOANS**--Jose Carlos Serrano, director of the Central Bank's foreign trade department, has reported that in the course of the first 9 months of this year Brazil has managed to obtain \$13.25 billion and contracted for \$673.3 million more to be disbursed in the coming years. Brazilian foreign exchange reserves have continued to grow and reached \$6.34 billion in September. The source added that by the end of November Brazil will have received loans worth \$15.5 billion, the amount required to adjust the 1981 balance of payments. [Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 6 Oct 81 p 1 PY]

**BRAZILIAN-PORTUGUESE TRADE BALANCE**--According to the Portuguese news agency ANOP the Brazilian-Portuguese trade balance greatly favors Brazil. During 1980 Brazilian exports to Portugal increased from 291,714 tons to 394,000, while Portuguese exports to Brazil dropped from 112,000 tons to 65,000 tons. During the same year Brazilian exports to Portugal amounted to 7,643,000 escudos, while Portuguese exports to Brazil amounted to 2,621,000 escudos, which represented a record deficit of almost 5 million escudos. Despite these figures, Brazil



continues to be Portugal's main trade partner in Latin America absorbing 45.7 percent of Portugal's exports in 1980. [Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2200 GMT 14 Oct 81 PY]

INFLATION FALLS--Brasilia, 2 Oct (TELAM)--Inflation in Brazil fell again in September, the Finance Ministry announced today. The index for September was 4.9 percent, for a cumulative rate for the past 12 months of 109.2 percent. These figures show that the yearly inflation rate, which had reached 121 percent last March, might fall under 100 percent by the end of 1981, in accordance with official predictions. [Text] [Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1347 GMT 2 Oct 81 PY]

TRADE DELEGATION TO JAPAN--A Brazilian trade delegation comprised of about 60 businessmen and headed by Porto Alegre Governor Amaral de Souza left for Japan today. During their stay in that country they will meet with members of the Confederation of Japanese Confederations which is comprised of organizations of agriculture, trade, industry and banking fields. [Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2200 GMT 14 Oct 81 PY]

IRAQ REDUCES PETROLEUM PRICE--Iraq has reduced the price of petroleum imported by Brazil by \$1.50 per barrel. Brazil is currently importing 210,000 barrels daily from Iraq, and this reduction will represent a saving of \$315,000 daily, or \$9.4 million monthly. [Sao Paulo Radio Bandeirantes Network in Portuguese 1000 GMT 6 Oct 81 PY]

MONTEIRO EXPERIENCING HEART PROBLEMS--Gen Dilermando Gomes Monteiro, member of the Superior Military Court, is experiencing coronary problems. However, according to his cardiologist (?Julio Mattos) the general is recovering well at a hospital in Brasilia. The general is responding satisfactorily to a pacemaker implant. [Text] [PY201800 Sao Paulo Radio Bandeirantes Network in Portuguese 1600 GMT 20 Oct 81]

CNBB DOCUMENT ON PRIEST'S TORTURE--Tomorrow's newspapers will also carry a report issued by the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops (CNBB) on the arrest of church officials last weekend in Sao Geraldo de Araguaia, Para State. The CNBB document asserts that Father Peter McCarthy, who was arrested together with nuns Helena Soares and (Heldera Soares Bedendo), was tortured. The Irish priest was reportedly tortured at the office in charge of land distribution as well as at the parish house. The CNBB document also states that the nuns were also tortured because they were forced to remain standing, facing a wall, during a 3-hour interrogation with guns pointing at them. [Text] [PY201045 Sao Paulo Radio Bandeirantes in Portuguese 0230 GMT 20 Oct 81]

IRON ORE TO BELGIUM, LUXEMBOURG--Minister Delfim Neto today participated in a ceremony in Brussels in which a contract was signed for approximately \$500 million, close to 55 billion cruzeiros. Through this contract, the Caraja project will export iron ore; it was signed by the Vale do Rio Doce Company, represented by its chairman--(Elias de Baptista), and a consortium of importers from Belgium and Luxembourg that supply the EEC steel market. [Excerpt] [PY210033 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2200 GMT 20 Oct 81]

REOCENTRO CASE REOPENING SOUGHT--General Cabral Ribeiro, minister judge of the Superior Military Court [STM], during a session yesterday accused his colleague Adm Julio de sa Bierrenbach of having "blatantly offended the institution to which we so honorably belong, with serious and frivolous remarks" on voting last Friday for the reactivation of the Police-Military Inquiry [IPM] on the Reocentro explosions. At the end of the session, Bierrenbach stated that in casting his vote he did not make "any criticism on the Brazilian Army, by which I was decorated on one occasion. I confirm everything I said upon casting my vote. I respect the opinion of my colleagues, who certainly do not know the records as well as I do." [Text] [Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 6 Oct 81 p 1]

CSO: 3001/7

## BRIEFS

MONGE OPPOSES GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE--Presidential candidate, Luis Alberto Monge, has said that he does not believe in nationalizing transportation, in speaking with representatives from that sector. He said that his party has plans which it will unveil in the next few weeks that combine the activity of private enterprise and cooperatives. Monge issued a call to this sector to maintain national unity and avoid factionalism over partisan issues. "I have been fiercely and vulgarly attacked while defending ideals that others have often failed to understand," he said. Concerning the negotiations now going on to nationalize the transportation sector, Monge said that he has plans in that regard which he will soon make known. And he said that he only wanted to make known now that his plans combine the activity of private enterprise and cooperatives. [Text] [San Jose LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 31 Aug 81 p 3] 9839

CSO: 3010/1853

## UNITED REVOLUTIONARY FRONT ISSUES STATEMENT ON ELECTIONS

Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 21 Sep 81 p 6

[Text] The United Revolutionary Front (FUR) has declared that the present party platforms offered by the rightist parties and the government candidates do not in any way guarantee a solution to the social, political, and economic problems of the nation, and therefore it has made no commitments or alliances with these parties or candidates.

The FUR leadership declares in a 5-point statement that in view of the distressing situation in Guatemala and because of its concern over finding solutions to the Guatemalan people's difficulties, it has been studying the alternatives it considers needed to launch an era of recovery that would rescue the citizenry immersed in certain obscurantism.

"It is necessary to note," the communique adds, "that because of the merciless repression suffered by the Guatemalan people, especially those identified with a popular cause, as the FUR is, it has not been possible to make immediate decisions, due to the dangers faced by our comrades throughout the country. In view of this, the study of these problems has been divided into several stages, beginning with the present statement, in which we set forth our unshakeable position."

The five fundamental points established by the FUR in its statement are as follows:

1. The present electoral platforms offered by the rightist parties and the government candidates do not in any way guarantee a solution to the Guatemalan problem. Therefore, it emphatically declares that it has made no commitment or alliance with any of these parties or candidates.
2. The position of the FUR is deeply nationalistic and working class oriented but it enjoys the real and effective support of progressive elements of the private sector, which, along with the professionals and working class people in general, help solidify the Guatemalan family. Thus, with the high degree of credibility the FUR enjoys, it affirms that it is ready to forge ahead and participate in the coming elections and will offer a real option for the consideration of the Guatemalan people that will initiate the change that is so earnestly sought.
3. The FUR also realizes it is not alone in this struggle and therefore calls upon all the democratic parties, associations, and entities to join ranks so that together we may realize the far-reaching changes that Guatemala needs; at the same time we



reiterate that our position has always been open to dialogue with those who represent the vital economic forces of this country.

4. It asks its allies and the public in general to maintain the peace so that all can make common cause in defending liberty and dignity. It also asks them to be attentive to the call that the FUR plans to issue to join with it as good citizens and participate in its activities in order to establish an intimate union which will serve as a framework for the goals of the Guatemalan family.

5. It demands that the government guarantee elections, that it bring a halt to the violence prevailing throughout the country, which has restricted the free expression to which all have a right because without it there cannot be a spontaneous expression of the popular will and effective application of the law against those who break it.

9015

CSO: 3010/29

## EDITORIAL STRESSES IMPORTANCE OF VOTING IN ELECTIONS

Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 21 Sep 81 p 10

[Editorial in the "Cactus" column by Alvaro Contreras Velez: "The Right to Vote"]

[Text] As the election campaign culminating in March, 1982, gains momentum, the concern of politicians and candidates has become more pronounced in view of predictions that attendance at the polls for this race will be marked by a rate of absenteeism much greater than in the elections of 1974 and 1978, which themselves had a higher rate of abstention than in previous years.

According to information from our files, the number of voters in the last four elections declined from 56.27 percent in 1966, to 42.49 percent in 1978 despite the fact that the population rose from 4,754,262 to 6,835,866 inhabitants during that period of time.

In 1974 an official report revealed that 300,000 citizens eligible to exercise the right to vote abstained. Nevertheless, in an apparent incongruity that is explained by the growth in population, these elections had the highest total vote (727,000 ballots) of any since Guatemala became a republic.

In 1977 the number of citizens carried on the Electoral Registry was officially estimated at 1,200,000. However, as noted above, only 42.49 percent of the population eligible to vote went to the polls in March, 1978.

To date, we have had no official report with reliable figures that could indicate the number of citizens who will vote next year. Unofficially, after consulting with leading politicians, we have estimated a figure of 1,500,000.

The above could lead us to the optimistic conclusions that, despite the absence of over a quarter of a million voters, the elections of '74 were the largest ever in the history of the republic, and the same thing could happen in '82 as a natural consequence of the demographic growth.

For this reason, both the political parties and the personalities chosen by them to participate in the race, have made the decision to motivate the citizen to vote. That is, that he exercise what is not only a right but an obligation which, in terms of civic duty, has been and continues to be a matter of responsibility and conscience.

According to our observations, influential opinion sectors represented by industrialists, businessmen, professionals, farmers, students, and other Guatemalans of various socio-economic levels are demonstrating the same commitment.

Although it is true there is no denying the fact that because of the twin scourge of violence and inflation the man in the street is more concerned with the problems that affect him and his family than with politics, it also cannot be denied that abstaining from voting does not help the situation.

In the same measure, it is no news to anyone that the politicians have lost credibility and respect with many people of the working class, who are tired of false promises and the burden of poverty and insecurity. But the damage caused by bad policies is not going to be cured by absenteeism at the polls. It could even get worse in the future.

In summary, if there are options to choose from among the best that are offered in order to have successful elections, the destiny of Guatemala depends now more than ever on that choice. In one of the most explosive and critical moments of its history Guatemala presents this gripping choice: sink or swim. And the correct vote could be a lifesaver.

9015

CSO: 3010/29

## BRIEFS

NEW ACR LEADERS--Important changes have taken place in the leadership of the Revolutionary Civic Alliance [ACR], one of the groups that support the presidential candidacy of Alejandro Maldonado Aguirre. Efrain Arriaga Mendez was named secretary general of the organization, and Sarbelio Azurdia was named assistant secretary general. Others appointed to leadership positions were Gustavo Adolfo Estrada Elizondo, Israel Palacios, and Hugo Galisaire, who will be the recording secretary, propaganda secretary, and youth affairs secretary, respectively. The positions of regional offices director, treasurer, and sports and public relations secretaries have been taken over by Juan Jose Galindo, Benito Jolon, Arturo Giron, and Luis A. Hurtado Aguilar. According to this report, Oscar Luna Alpirez, who was president of the organization, has been permanently removed from the position and no longer belongs to the Alliance. At the same time, it was indicated that the women's auxiliary of the group is now headed by Mrs Juana Robles Granillo. [Text] [Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 14 Sep 81 p 16] 9015

CSO: 3010/29



## TRADE WITH GUATEMALA SAID TO BE AT STANDSTILL

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 25 Aug 81 p 2

[Text] Tegucigalpa--Guatemala's vice minister of the economy, Gilberto Corzo, declared that negotiations between Honduras and Guatemala to solve the problem that has arisen in commercial relations are at a total standstill.

Corzo spoke clearly, saying that unfortunately negotiations have not been reopened, but he was still hopeful that talks would continue next week between the two country's ministers of the economy in the search of an understanding which is becoming necessary. "Meanwhile, the repercussions grow worse daily, above all in the two countries' industrial sectors," emphasized the statesman.

He specified that, due to the above situation, his government has not yet set its final position. He added that events could not forge ahead here because what is needed is to find a solution which in the long run will create an agreement between both countries.

The vice minister of the economy, who arrived here on a special mission, said that unfortunately Decree No 14-54 cannot be altered, although it was the factor that caused the break in commercial relations. The Guatemalan vice minister recalled that the Free Trade bilateral agreements are based on Decree No 97, which empowers the executive branch to negotiate and which has not yet been repealed. -

In any case, he said, it is not a question of arguing over legal formulas, but rather of finding solutions to save the situation. The vice minister questioned Decree No 14-54, saying that it raises the cost of selling products on the Honduran market.

Apparently talks between Gen Policarpo Paz Garcia and Guatemala's President Romeo Lucas did not contribute much to finding a solution, since Corzo maintained that not even he had heard of what the two leaders had talked about. "Perhaps they spoke of influencing their ministers to find a solution to the problem," he added.

He said it was curious that the only proposal from Honduras has been that Guatemala accept 10 percent, and consequently they offer the same percentage in exchange.

9839

CSO: 3010/1853

## MYSTERY SURROUNDS GUATEMALAN PEASANTS MIGRATION

## Continuing Migration

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 24 Aug 81 p 4

[Text] Guatemala--A mystery surrounds recent emigrations of Guatemalan peasants into neighboring Honduran territory since the information available is insufficient to permit a clear explanation of why the peasants are moving.

While local authorities stated that they are unaware of the situation, sources in Honduras insist that Guatemalan peasants are continuing to come in, and there is talk of them being settled in camps. In fact the United Nations representative for refugees in Honduras visited the camp where Guatemalan immigrants are being held.

The present migration comes on top of three earlier movements that took place some time ago from Peten territory into Mexico, when cooperatives were established on the other side of the border. On these earlier occasions, it was said that the peasants were abandoning their homes and land in order to seek protection against armed confrontations between the national army's regular forces and leftist guerrillas. It was later established, however, that the peasants who crossed the border had been manipulated, and they were later repatriated.

Two hundred of those Guatemalan immigrants remained in the neighboring country as refugees since Mexico granted them asylum. But where the current migration into Honduras is concerned, nothing exists to permit clarification of the ongoing mystery.

## Three Possible Explanations

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 24 Aug 81 p 4

[Text] What is the truth concerning recent migrations into Honduras? At the moment, there seems to be no concrete answer. Nevertheless, three theories exist which may give at least a partial glimpse of the truth.

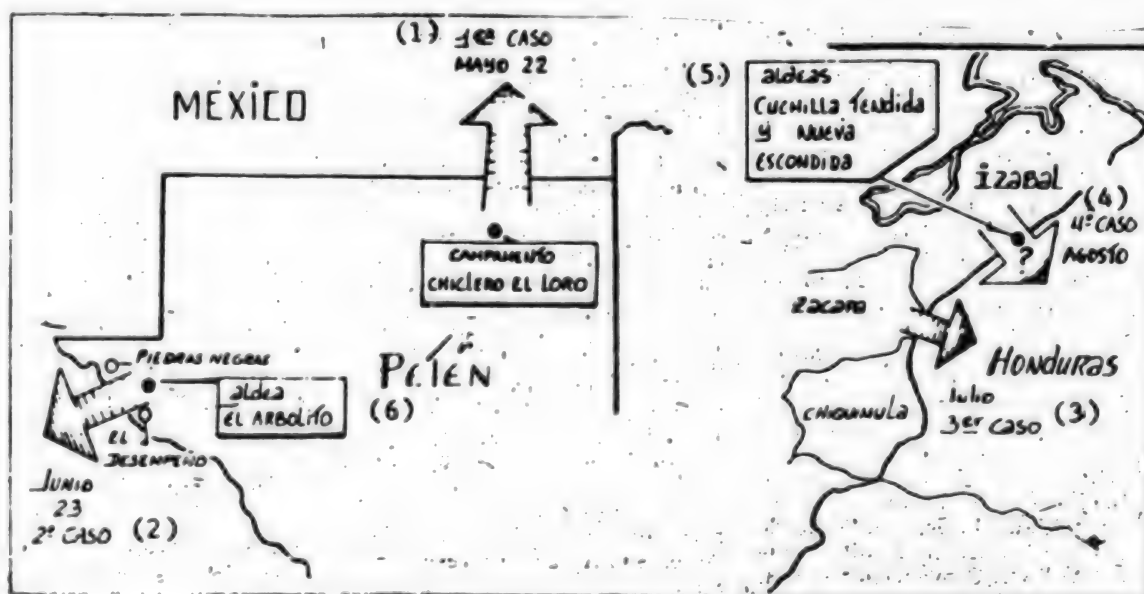
Theory 1: There are in fact anti-guerrilla struggles going on in the country's northeast, and peasants have chosen to seek the safety of the border. But a security officer at the military base of Puerto Barrios rejected this theory. Interviewed by telephone, he explained that no guerrilla activity has existed in the Department of Izabal for a long time. He also said that the villages mentioned in international cables do not exist in that department.

Theory 2: Shrinking employment opportunities have forced the peasants to seek other territories where they can find work as field laborers, cutting bananas or harvesting cotton and coffee. This theory may have some validity, in view of the fact that employment opportunities have in fact declined in the area, especially in the Department of Izabal.

Exmibal [Izabal Mining Exploration and Exploitation Inc] for example, has reduced its operations and consequently layoffs have occurred there. Bandegua [Guatemalan Banana Development Company, Ltd] is still operating, but one of its officers admitted that there are problems and layoffs have been necessary. Other firms, such as Ferropazco or Fegua [Guatemalan National Railways], for example, have reduced their operations in the area and this had led to a decrease in the use of labor.

Theory 3: On the other hand, there has been speculation that the immigration into Honduras is real, but may not be coming from the Department of Izabal, but rather from the western highlands. It might be a case of peasants moving out of the Department of Peten or out of areas where guerrilla activity is strong, explained some security authorities consulted here in the capital.

However, others refute this theory by pointing out that it is very risky for the peasants to move long distances and then cross a border.



At left are recorded the peasant migrations from El Peten into Mexico; at right the recent migrations into Honduras.

Key:

1. May 22: 1st Case
2. June 23: 2nd Case
3. July: 3rd Case
4. August: 4th Case
5. Villages: Cuchilla Tendida and Nueva Escondida
6. Village: El Arbolito

### What the DPA Report Says

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 24 Aug 81 p 4

[Text] Tegucigalpa (DPA)--Between 1,800 and 2,000 Guatemalan refugees have entered Honduran territory through western zone communities, reported the director of migration, Col Leonel Gutierrez Minera.

The government official said that Honduras has become a nest of political refugees from El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala, without taking account small groups of Haitians who have also taken refuge in Honduran coastal settlements.

The Guatemalan refugees have entered the country through the Department of Copan, and are being surveyed rapidly in order to organize them and give them the necessary assistance. The Honduran Government is already aiding Salvadoran refugees and Nicaraguan Miskitos, and will now have to do the same for Guatemalans who continue to arrive into Honduras.

9839

CSO: 3010/1853



## BACKGROUND ON THE 'DESTAPADO' GIVEN

## Text of MMH Acceptance Speech

Mexico City EL DIA in Spanish 26 Sep 81 p 2

[Text] A stenographic copy of the remarks delivered by Mr Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, during the demonstration in support of his precandidacy for the presidency of the republic, at a function held on the central grounds of the National Palace this afternoon.

"Mr Chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Institutional Revolutionary Party, Javier Garcia Paniagua;

"Mr Chairman of the Labor Congress, Fidel Velazquez;

"Mr Chairman of the National Confederation of Popular Organizations, Humberto Lugo Gil;

"Mr Chairman of the National Peasant Confederation, Victor Cervera Pacheco;

"Messrs leaders of the PRI deputy group and the Chamber of Senators;

"Comrades from the party:

"I receive your support for my precandidacy with emotion and a full awareness of the obligations that it entails.

"With our party's internal process under way, which will culminate in the national convention to elect a candidate for the presidency of the republic, I wish to tell you that I accept your support because, since I have devoted my life to serving the revolutionary movement converted into a government, in the tasks that it has assigned to me, my party's candidacy represents the continuation of my profession in the service of the nation. This candidacy represents the most lofty opportunity to work for the cause to which I am indebted, and to which I have dedicated myself and shall always dedicate myself: the cause of the Mexican Revolution.

I accept your support and backing because, as a member of a new generation educated in the Revolution, trained in its ranks and prepared in its endeavor, we have the emotion, the capacity and the responsibility to continue the great task that the

Constituent Assembly of 1917 clearly designed in Queretaro, one which is and will be continuing until its supreme values have been fulfilled in their entirety.

"I trust in my ability to make use of and project the lessons and experience of the generations that have preceded us in this endeavor. I trust that I shall have both their historic vision, and the modern design of the current process of change, thanks to the opportunity that I have had, to be honored by being a member of the government of President Lopez Portillo, and collaborating with him in the great plan for revolutionary management, and in the devising and implementation of that democratic, participatory project, the Total Development Plan, which is merely the consistent definition of the fulfillment of the goals which are recorded in the declaration of principles and the program of action of the Institutional Revolutionary Party.

"Party comrades, I trust that, starting with this design, and with the active, very active participation of the sectors of our party, in dialog with the popular classes, with all Mexicans, we shall be able to determine more clearly what the people want, and what the people can do during the next government term.

"I accept your backing because I know that, with your ideological and moral support, and with the majority force representing all the nation's dimensions and tasks, we shall be able to continue winning victories as a revolutionary government; Party comrades, we shall be able to continue surmounting problems, finding solutions and increasingly expanding the effectiveness of our values and our social goals.

"We shall progress along the path of democracy; we shall intensify the people's participation in policy decisions, to strengthen our movement; we shall intensify the people's participation in all social activities, to strengthen the nation.

"We shall intensify the people's participation in culture, to strengthen our community; and we shall expand the people's participation in production, and in the distribution of wealth with greater social justice.

"In short, combined and united, we shall strengthen the sectors of the Party, the majority classes of the nation, and the people's participation in development, so as to pursue the proper path, the one decided on by the people, the one directed by the people and the one that must benefit the people of Mexico.

"We shall progress upholding liberties, to increase their benefits and to make the liberties of the individual coincide with the liberties of groups, in a just and free democracy.

"We achieved our independence in the last century, and we have remained independent in order to be free, and to continue to be free. We Mexicans cannot conceive of justice without liberty.

"We shall progress in the strengthening of our nationalism, so as to passionately preserve all the social activities related to our political, economic and cultural independence, and make them flourish. Nationalism is a requisite and mainstay of the Mexican Revolution; nationalism must be a requisite and mainstay of our actions. Our nationalism is a fundamental policy decision of the people; because we have a sense of history and solidarity at present, and a call to an indestructible common destiny.

"We shall, indeed, progress, to continue the democratic, popular and nationalist course of our movement, whose brilliant current phase is being directed with exemplary patriotism, total dedication, rationality and social conviction, by the present leader of the Mexican Revolution: Jose Lopez Portillo.

"Owing to that historical continuity, a twofold, combined function is incumbent on the Institutional Revolutionary Party at the present time: to engage, as we are doing now at this starting event, in a vigorous campaign that will lead to another victory for the majority of the Mexican people, and for the ideology of the Mexican Revolution; but it is also incumbent on our Party to continue supporting the head of state and the head of the Party: Jose Lopez Portillo.

"This government, with its progressive endeavor, will continue to work until the last minute for the benefit of the people. The Party will continue to back Jose Lopez Portillo.

"We shall pursue the great effort to modernize public administration, and to plan democratically to consolidate and advance in organization for social progress.

"Now, as always, the Party will continue to uphold the unyielding principles of our foreign policy: self-determination of peoples, non-intervention, peaceful solution of controversies, international cooperation for development in world peace and construction of a more just and balanced world economic order.

"In that respect, our participation, Mexico's participation with Lopez Portillo in Cancun, will receive the most complete solidarity and the most steadfast support from our Party.

"In view of the prospects opening up at present for Mexico, a nation of young people, I wish to make a strong appeal to the youth: I summon the youth to a new period of the Mexican Revolution.

"Together, but with special backing from the youth, based on their unsullied hopes and the enthusiastic acceptance of a challenge, let us create a new image of politics, anchored in ideological conviction, authenticity, faithful dedication and moral integrity.

"The presence of women is indispensable in these tasks, in our campaign tasks and our Party tasks. Let us continue to implement the political and legal principle of the equality between men and women.

"Party comrades: popular, labor and peasant leaders; members of the middle class; we shall progress united with Mexico toward independence, with Mexico toward liberty, with Mexico toward democracy and justice, and with Mexico for the total fulfillment of the philosophy in force, the valid philosophy, the philosophy of the Mexican Revolution.

"We Mexicans have won our independence; we Mexicans established a liberal state during the 19th century; we Mexicans have reaffirmed independence, liberty and democracy with the Mexican Revolution, and we have been building the firm path to justice.

"But now the Mexican Revolution has, as a great challenge based on independence, democracy and liberty, that of taking the path toward a more egalitarian society.

"Party comrades: the struggles of Mexico's history are struggles of illustrious men, the struggles of exemplary heroes, the struggles of a political class which managed to build a system that is an example to the world. But Mexico's struggles are not merely those of men or individuals; they are struggles of the entire Mexican people who, so long as they are united, will not have any obstacles that we cannot surmount.

"Party comrades: we are now engaged in a campaign, the campaign of the Revolution, for the Mexican Revolution.

"Let us create together this new phase in the Revolution.

"Thank you."



The precandidate for the presidency of the republic, Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, celebrates with his wife, Paloma Cordero de De la Madrid Hurtado, his nomination announced by the three PRI sectors



### Speech at Planning and Budget

Mexico City EL SOL DE MEXICO in Spanish 28 Sep 81 Sec A pp 1, 13

[Text] Yesterday, Miguel de la Madrid remarked: "It is an unavoidable moral obligation to expend a great effort to rescue many Mexicans from social deprivation."

The precandidate also told the workers from Social Security who visited him yesterday at the Planning and Budget offices that unity is indispensable to prevent hidden dangers from flourishing.

He urged them to be "persistent and passionately persevering" in pursuing the implementation of the ideals of the Mexican Revolution; and said that, so long as liberty is upheld and justice fulfilled, the unity of Mexicans will be more efficacious.

With regard to the underprivileged groups, he stressed that the country will not forge ahead until they have been incorporated and given the minimal welfare to which they are entitled.

He emphasized: "We must admit that, despite the progress that has been made by the Revolution's governments, there are still groups, classes and regions which are not fully incorporated into the country's modern development."

He told the workers from IMSS [Mexican Social Security Institute] that they represent a particularly significant expedient for making the principles of the Mexican Revolution a reality.

De la Madrid declared that he agreed with the praise expressed by President Lopez Portillo in his presidential report for the director of Social Security, Arsenio Farell Cubillas.

Moreover, the PRI precandidate told the leaders of the National Confederation of Cooperatives, headed by Manuel Lozano Jimenez, that there are no private interests nor any class that can take precedence over the national interest.

With regard to cooperativism, he noted that its shortcoming is that it is sometimes mere formula and, on occasion, has served as a tool for exploitation.

"We shall not allow that," stated Miguel de la Madrid categorically, calling on the members of the Confederation to "be on guard, you and I with you, to prevent any pretense in cooperativism, much less any type of exploitation."

Lozano Jimenez had stated that the cooperativist movement fits perfectly into our concept of pluralist democracy and a mixed economy, and the presidential hopeful agreed to that.

### Speech at CNOP Headquarters

Mexico City EL SOL DE MEXICO in Spanish 28 Sep 81 Sec A pp 1, 13

[Text] Yesterday, the PRI's precandidate for the presidency of the republic, Miguel de la Madrid, issued a condemnation of reaction of any type: "The reaction of those

who look backward, and the reaction of those who look to the side." Addressing the popular sector, he added: "Those looking ahead are we from PRI;" stating: "We have never offered happiness around the corner; we are not demagogues, we are revolutionaries."

Yesterday, De la Madrid recalled the anniversary of the winning of independence, "which was due mainly to the patriotism of Vicente Guerrero and to the political opportunism of Iturbide."

Addressing the various organizations that comprise the National Confederation of Popular Organizations [CNOF], which confirmed to him its mass support on the central grounds of the National Palace, led by Humberto Lugo Gil, the PRI's precandidate also remarked:

"The strength of the Mexican libertarian movement, gathering the purest essence of the independence movement, was such that it managed to oppose that reaction of the time, as we now shall oppose the reaction against our Revolution."

De la Madrid also gave a reminder that yesterday marked the celebration of the nationalization of the electric industry, which the party of progress had achieved with the strong popular leadership of Adolfo Lopez Mateos.

Regarding the popular sector of the Institutional Revolutionary Party, he said that "it is vigorous and alert, not blinking;" and he announced that he would conduct the political campaign with its leaders.

Jorge Flores Vizcarra spoke again on behalf of the popular sector.

#### Time to Time

Yesterday, the precandidate Miguel de la Madrid decided to conduct business in the PRI until it makes the statutory declaration between 15 and 16 October. Meanwhile, starting today, he will use the house located at No 2 Arturo, San Angel, to receive groups and hold the first meetings with those who will be his collaborators in the campaign.

As we reported at the time, he will meet today with the PRI's National Executive Committee [CEN] to convoke the National Council that will state when the issuance of the convocation is to be authorized.

In connection with the PRI's CEN, the resignations in several undersecretariats, particularly in the organization area, caused great surprise.

A misunderstanding and the uproar created yesterday by the crowds caused a press photographer to be struck by a security official.

Ciro Hurtado Oldenvog, uncle of the precandidate, announced that Bob de la Madrid, governor of Baja California Norte, is a relative of Miguel, "but in the third degree," he noted.

Yesterday, there was much interest among the press representatives in repeating the information regarding the visit (on Friday) by the secretary of labor, Pedro Ojeda Paullada; and therefore many reporters thought that he was visiting for the second time.

The announcement that his government plan would be the result of an extensive democratic consultation was interesting, particularly because, as the statutes stipulate, the Institute of Political, Economic and Social Studies will introduce its basic government plan at the PRI's National Assembly.

Yesterday afternoon's rain did not interfere with the popular groups that visited the National Palace, nor with the musical ensembles that performed all day.

Yesterday, Miguel de la Madrid dined at about 1700 hours, and at 1800 hours resumed his interviews with organizations and popular groups.

At No 9 Pimentel, also in San Angel, the press room in which the reporters will have closed circuit television to watch what happens inside residence No 2 on Arturo Street, was prepared.

The CNOP youth who expressed their dissatisfaction over neglect and poverty asked De la Madrid not to drop the cause of social justice. The precandidate's response was that he accepts that challenge, and he said that he too was dissatisfied with the injustice.

He stressed that political activity is the individual's loftier task, because it combines the others. He confirmed to them his confidence in the nation's youth, which is the essence of the revolution.

De la Madrid gathered for the meal with his sons, Enrique, Federico and Gerardo, two friends of theirs and 11 guests. The menu was rice, fried chicken, peach pie, coffee and white wine.

Enrique remarked goodnaturedly: "The peaceful Sundays are over;" and announced that they would join in their father's work when needed, without neglecting their activities.

Enrique claimed that his family has always been very close, and he stressed that the communication between parents and children in the family has always existed.

Yesterday, Federico helped his father receive cards, envelopes, folders, etc. Enrique was very attentive to the precandidate's talks with groups and individuals.

In the board room where De la Madrid received his supporters, there are two oil paintings, one of Carlos Tello and the other of Ricardo Garcia Sainz, who preceded the precandidate in the position of secretary of planning and budget. Both paintings are signed "Oteyza 81".

Rigoberto Lopez, head of the National Union of Press Writers, whom those preparing the bulletins called "president of the union", told the precandidate yesterday that the reporters and photographers who will accompany him in his campaign would

not only perform their professional function, but would participate as members of CNOP, "as PRI members, because we have backed him since his nomination." This evoked the memory that, on a certain occasion, Gustavo Carvajal "formed" the "seventh opposition party" with journalists.

The members of the Vanguard of Engineers and Architects of Mexico requested the presidential hopeful, through Eduardo Sanchez Anaya, to officiate at a work meeting held for the purpose of turning over to him the studies made in 31 states of the republic.

The air traffic controllers, for their part, promised not to "go out of control" again.

Carlos Valderrabano Ojeda, chairman of the National Political Confederation of Professional Graduates of the Polytechnical Institute, remarked yesterday that this organization came into existence in response to the appeal made by Luis Echeverria, when he was president of Mexico, and asserted that it has been typified by its institutional work and its respect for the authorities.

However, many assume that, when a candidate comes out, those who saw him first or visualized possibilities will be the ones elected for the next 6 years; and this does not always happen, because politics is not a matter of friendships, but rather of ability.

Furthermore, during the campaign individuals emerge precisely because of their ability. It is possible that those who visualized will start the new cabinet, but others will emerge from the campaign. It must be remembered that, at the beginning of the present 6-year period, Miguel de la Madrid was undersecretary and, with Luis Echeverria, he served as director of credit in the Finance Secretariat, and Carlos Tello served as deputy director, and yet he began as secretary.

It was noteworthy that, in a televised interview yesterday morning, the precandidate stressed his admiration for three of his former teachers: Jose Lopez Portillo, Mario de la Cueva and Jesus Reyes Heróles. It was the latter who directed Miguel de la Madrid's thesis. Mario Moya, Porfirio Munoz Ledo and Gabriel Garcia Rojas were his classmates; however, the first two pursued different paths.

In the matter of the succession to Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, Senator Alfredo del Mazo was the only one who made it open for Adolfo Lopez Mateos; and today, something similar has occurred with Gabriel Garcia Rojas, senator from Zacatecas.

The PRI's National Assembly will last for 2 days: one to submit the basic plan, and the other to ratify Javier Garcia Paniagua; something that will dispel any rumor about another casting of the king.





The PRI's precandidate for the presidency of the republic, Miguel de la Madrid, poses with two of his sons in the garden of his residence in Coyoacan, before yesterday's activities began.

'I Will Not Promise, Only Do'

Mexico City EL SOL DE MEXICO in Spanish 28 Sep 81 Sec B p 7

[Text] The tension has ended, or perhaps it is now beginning for some; but what is certain is that the country has gathered around Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, the man who summarizes his thinking in this way: "I will not promise, only do."

There have, in fact, been 3 days of signs of support and jubilation, both from the most high-ranking representatives of the various sectors and from young girls seeking an opportunity to see personally the man who, they claim "looks so handsome in the photographs."

And there is a point of coincidence in the opinions: The thorough understanding that he has of the country will make Miguel de la Madrid the proper guide for the times in which we are living.

The analysis was swift, and the man who is still a precandidate withstood all the tests.

His colleagues in the cabinet, who competed with him for the PRI nomination, also claimed to be convinced of the virtues of the one who is still secretary of planning and budget, and immediately came to voice their solidarity to him.

The same thing happened starting at 1000 hours last Friday morning, when the decision of the PRI's three sectors was announced, in the case of businessmen, labor leaders, peasants and even representatives of the Church.

The latter, after stressing that Miguel de la Madrid "is an intelligent man," expressed its wish that, if he is elected president of the republic, he will prove successful with the "extremely heavy responsibility that it represents."

The people's enthusiasm has turned the central grounds of the National Palace, where the Secretariat of Planning and Budget is located, into the meeting place of all those who wish to congratulate the precandidate and to express their solidarity to him.

There has been music of all kinds, mariachis from Jalisco as well as marimbas from Yucatan; dances, wooden rattles, clagues, shawls and songs.

The same thing has occurred in front of the precandidate's residence, where thousands of people have arrived in order to see him.

The majority, to be sure, are only seeking to reach the precandidate to express their support for him, but there are also some who want to convey to him what they consider problems requiring priority attention, which are surely well known by the man who, in recent years, has been responsible for handling the budget and both preparing and carrying out basic programs for the country's growth, noteworthy among which is the Total Development Plan, which in a way includes all the others.

But they must talk with the precandidate, and point out to him what he certainly knows best. He is willing to listen, and he has proven this; he shakes hands, and pays attention to what he is told.

#### 'Meteoric Career' Outlined

Mexico City EL SOL DE MEXICO in Spanish 28 Sep 81 Sec B pp 7-9

[Text] A meteoric career in the public sector, achieved on the basis of genuine effort, efficiency and integrity, deserved a crowning point such as that attained by Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, upon being selected by the three sectors of PRI as its precandidate for the presidency of the republic.

The country may have been surprised by the time (there had been a great deal of comment that the selection would not be made until after the North-South meeting),

but not the name which has filled the front pages of newspapers since last Friday, and which is consuming most of the time on radio and television.

A thorough expert on the national economy because of his studies and the positions that he has held in that sector, a successful leader at key junctures in the economic takeoff, with a severe disposition clearly reflected by his almost perpetual stern expression, Miguel de la Madrid is a man who has never needed theatricality to stand out.

His statements to the news media have always been fitting, and evoked by the circumstances of the time, in addition to which he has often been designated as a speaker at public functions, at which he has spoken representing the three branches of government.

We recall, for example, one of his most recent statements, in which he announced the reduction of the budget.

His more than clear views on corruption have also been recorded, and his warnings to the effect that there would no longer be any tolerance of those who mismanage funds or the power that the country has put into their hands still hover over some, now more than ever.

His capacity for response and political training were fully demonstrated last year in his submission of the budget to Congress, during which he had to confront the onslaughts of the opposition and the sharpness of some leading members of his own party, PRI.

Another example of his political training and his deepseated revolutionary calling is the speech that he delivered during a recent public appearance in his native area, Colima, during the report by Governor Griselda Alvarez.

Among other things, he said: "It is a revolutionary imperative, in the context of democratic principles, to have a strong state, with strong federated entities, and also equally strong and genuinely free municipalities."

Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, the man born in Colima on 12 December 1934, about 2100 hours, is also a kind man and an affectionate father and husband. In this respect, he seems to embody the ideals of the majority of Mexicans, who have made their homes a shrine and their families an object of worship.

He also has a vast general culture, wherein the mastery of techniques and subjects on which he is an expert does not, however, overshadow his humanistic training and his understanding of the arts.

We are told that, until recently, he played badminton often with his sons in the garden of his residence in Coyoacan; and the practice of that sport was not given up because he wanted it so, but because of the commitments that his five children assumed with the passage of time.

Those who have dealt with him closely claim that he has managed to combine his remarkable activity in the public sector with a quiet family life, in the company

of his wife, Paloma Cordero de De la Madrid, and his children: Margarita (the only girl), Miguel, Enrique, Federico and Gerardo.

The current PRI precandidate (he will not be the official candidate until the party convention so decides) took the course leading to a law degree at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, where he received his degree, with honorable mention, in 1957, with a thesis on "Economic Thought of the Constitution of 1857".

From September 1964 to May 1965, he pursued post-graduate studies in public administration, obtaining a master's degree in that field at the Graduate School of Public Administration of Harvard University.

From 1965 to 1970, he held the position of deputy director of credit in the Secretariat of Finance and Public Credit; and from 1970 to 1972, he was deputy director of finance for Mexican Petroleum.

Between 1972 and 1975, he served as general director of credit in the Secretariat of Finance and Public Credit; and from 1975 until 1979, he was undersecretary of the same entity.

Since 17 May 1979, he has held the post of secretary of planning and budget.

He has also been a consultant for various state financial institutions, such as the Bank of Mexico, National Financing, the National Rural Credit Bank, the National Bank of Public Works and Services and the National Foreign Commerce Bank; as well as for their overseeing organs, such as the National Banking and Insurance Commission and the National Securities Commission. He served on the administrative councils and boards of directors of parastate companies, primarily Mexican Petroleum, the Federal Electricity Commission, Mexican Iron and Steel, the National Basic Commodities Company and National Railroads.

As a representative of the Government of Mexico, he has attended various international meetings specializing in economic matters, particularly those of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and the Inter-American Economic and Social Council.

He has published various essays on subjects of a legal and economic nature in specialized journals, including the book entitled "Studies in Constitutional Law".

Miguel de la Madrid has also given courses and lectures on economic and legal topics at the Institute of Comparative Law of the National Autonomous University of Mexico, the School of Political and Social Sciences, the Center for Latin American Monetary Studies, the Technological Institute of Mexico, the National Institute of Public Administration and the National Association of Economists, as well as in various institutions of advanced culture and both academic and professional associations.

De la Madrid has also been a regular professor of constitutional law at the UNAM Law School, and professor of comparative law at the Institute of Comparative Law (now the Institute of Legal Research) at the UNAM.

He is a member of the Mexican Bar, and also a member of the Bar Association since 1960, and a member of the Institutional Revolutionary Party since 1963. He has



collaborated with the Institute of Economic and Social Studies, and with the District Committee of the Federal District.

In addition, he is a member of the Ibero-American Institute of Constitutional Law, the Mexican Planning Association, A.C., and the Institute of Public Administration.

Concerning Miguel de la Madrid, "The Magic Country", the detailed study made of the presidential succession by journalists Neftali Celis and Javier Lozada, tells us that his relationship with President Jose Lopez Portillo has been optimal for many years.

The book notes: "He is a prototype of a style similar to that of the current president, and was the only cabinet member to witness the wedding of the chief executive's son, who collaborates with him in the Secretariat of Planning and Budget."

The journalist authors of the study claim that De la Madrid "is unquestionably suited for the modernization that the country needs and the new features of our economy."

In the magazine SIEMPRE, in the very issue which started circulating a few hours before the nomination was made public, Miguel de la Madrid is described as follows:

"He likes to read Morris West in order to forget planning and budget; he is concerned about dressing well and the exact truth; he draws well; he is more than slightly familiar with French cuisine. The gray hairs at his temple make him seem interesting in a mature way; and the haughty expression and talking about 'intersectorial crossings' show a Miguel de la Madrid who is full of contrasts, mature and willing to comply with destiny."

The one who is still head of the Secretariat of Planning and Budget will be 47 years old on 12 December, and is one of the four youngest men nominated by the PRI for the presidency.

He is a descendant of a family prolific from the standpoint of men with a vocation for public service: governors, mayors and members of the military who have dedicated their lives to the country.

In fact, he received his first schooling from his mother, Mrs Alicia Hurtado de De la Madrid, because his father, Miguel de la Madrid Castro, who had practiced law in his native area, died when Miguel was only 2 years old.

And as an odd note, there is an account of what happened on 12 November 1980, during a meal that the current precandidate had with the members of the Front Page Club.

At dessert time, the newsmen presented to the one still serving as secretary of planning and budget a "hood" which the latter accepted laughingly, although of course he refused to put it on.

On that occasion Miguel de la Madrid showed another facet of his personality, the sense of humor mentioned by those who have known him apart from his function in the public sector, wherein his policy has remained unchangeable: work, integrity and efficiency.



PRI Precandidate Miguel  
de la Madrid

#### Candidate's Wife Interviewed

Mexico City EL SOL DE MEXICO in Spanish 28 Sep 81 Sec B p 10

[Interview with Paloma Cordero de De la Madrid, wife of PRI precandidate Miguel de la Madrid; date and place not given]

[Text] It is impossible to dissociate Miguel de la Madrid the official from Miguel de la Madrid the husband and father.

Paloma Cordero de De la Madrid, born in Mexico City, is his wife and the one with whom the PRI's precandidate for the presidency of the republic has shared the past 24 years, and by whom he has had five children: Margarita, Miguel, Enrique, Federico and Gerardo.

And we remarked that it is impossible to talk about De la Madrid only as an official or only as a parent, because the brilliant professional has managed to combine the two functions.

We are told by those who have associated with him that, in his home, there is reflected the strict discipline with which the politician has always discharged his functions in the government and in his public life; while on the other hand he often gives evidence of the understanding with which he treats his family.

Actually, the one who can discuss the family life of the man chosen by the PRI as its precandidate for the presidency of the nation is his wife; and therefore we are reprinting the interview granted by Mrs Paloma Cordero de De la Madrid to a magazine, a few days before the PRI's decision became known.

This was the dialog:

[Question] What problems does the wife of a state secretary confront?

[Answer] I believe that, in order to enable a man to perform any work successfully, he needs a loyal, understanding family at his side. As a wife, I have had to engage in this effort throughout my husband's career as a public servant, and the family has also been gradually trained for this type of problem. My children and I are concerned about knowing what my husband is doing, understanding the problems that he faces and supporting him. He often chats with us about his activities, especially with me and my three older children; and we give him our opinions frankly. But I believe that the family not only bears a burden to support the official, but also benefits from the experience, the solidarity and the effect that the head of the family conveys. A family in our times cannot be passive regarding either the effort or the gratification entailed by the activities of the head of the family.

[Question] Are you from Colima also?

[Answer] No, I am a native of the Federal District. So was my father, Luis Cordero Bustamante; and my mother, Delia Tapia Labardini de Cordero, was born in Puebla, although of parents who were from Orizaba. On my father's side, we are descended from a Chihuahua family: the Bustamante Siqueiros family.

I like Colima very much, but I also like the Federal District very much. I am proud of being a native of the capital.

[Question] Where did you meet your husband?

[Answer] Here in Mexico City. We were neighbors of the same housing complex, the Hipodromo Condesa, in the direction of the Lido movie theater. I was introduced to him by my brother, Luis, who was my husband's companion in military service.

[Question] Did you marry young?

[Answer] Yes, I met Miguel when he was a law student. Our courtship underwent a crisis during exam time. We were married in 1957; I was 22, and he 24. We are very glad to have married young, because now we see our children already grown up. We are also better equipped to understand the problems of the younger generation, and this benefits their education. My husband is greatly concerned about understanding the worries of the youth, and his children are good commentators and critics regarding the problems.

[Question] Are you from a wealthy family?

[Answer] My father gave us a good standard of living, but we are not a wealthy family. Upon the death of my father, who practiced law in a very personal way, he left an inheritance which just sufficed to give my mother a decent living.

[Question] What are your favorite activities?

[Answer] I am very fond of sports. I practice tennis, swimming and gymnastics regularly. We also like traveling very much. Every time my children have vacations we learn about new places. We have visited virtually the entire republic. During the last vacations, we made a tour by rail of the route from Chihuahua to the Pacific. My husband cannot always accompany us, but sometimes he catches up with us somewhere along the journey.

[Question] What kind of reading do you prefer?

[Answer] I like novels, and I spend time reading about Mexican history and art. I have taken some isolated courses on those subjects. I also often read books on education and child psychology. Every day I read one or two newspapers, and I read weekly magazines. I like to be informed about the problems of the country and the world, so as to hold discussions with my husband and children, and be properly informed.

[Question] What kind of social work do you do?

[Answer] Basically, work related to the social activities of the institutions for which my husband has worked. I have been a member of the national volunteers of the Secretariat of Finance and at Mexican Petroleum, and now at Planning and Budget. We have community development programs in urban and rural centers; we oversee the social benefits granted by the secretariat to its employees and their children; and we participate in fostering cultural activities: concerts, lectures, visits to museums and historical monuments, Mexican folklore events, etc.

[Question] Who are your women friends?

[Answer] My best friends are my mother and my daughter. I also get along well with my sisters, my mother-in-law and my sister-in-law, Alicia; and I have always tried to have a good friendship with the wives of my husband's colleagues at work.

[Question] Do you cook?

[Answer] When I was very young, my mother taught me to make pastry. My mother has always made very good pies. But when I was married, I realized that I had to learn to cook beans, rice and soup. I took cooking lessons, and I like to prepare my family's meals, especially when my husband eats at home, or when we have visitors. But I still make good pies.

[Question] What performances do you attend?

[Answer] I am very fond of the movies, theater and symphony concerts, and the opera as well. I like all music: classic and modern; and I am very fond of boleros and country songs. I like to dance very much. My husband jokes with me, telling me that I dance too much at parties.

[Question] Where do you buy your clothes?

[Answer] In Mexico City, both in shops and from my dressmaker. Foreign clothes are very pretty, but every day we are obtaining a better quality and supply in Mexico City.

[Question] Which of your children is pampered?

[Answer] I don't have a pampered one. I love all the children very much; I have just one daughter, Margarita, who is studying tourism. Then we have four boys: Miguel, Enrique, Federico and Gerardo. I get along very well with them, and try to be their friend. I try to treat all of them alike, but when one has a problem, I give him priority.

As wife of the PRI's precandidate for the presidency of the republic, Mrs De la Madrid has reiterated the fact that her husband is a man completely dedicated to the work entrusted to him, but one who has always maintained very close ties with his family.

The woman who could be the first lady of the nation during the next 6 years received with great aplomb the news that her husband had been selected by the three sectors of the PRI as its candidate for the presidency during the term 1982-88.

Her initial statement was simply: "It is an honor for me;" although, a few hours later, when she was in the company of husband and children, she spoke more at length about how the inhabitants of house No 421 on Francisco Sosa Avenue, in Coyoacan, had lived until last Friday.



Paloma Cordero de De la Madrid





The De la Madrid family

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## BRIEFS

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH POSITION REJECTED--Caracas, 7 Oct (EFE)--Venezuela today rejected the communique agreed on in Melbourne, Australia, at a meeting of chiefs of government of the British Commonwealth countries in connection with the Venezuelan-Guyanese conflict over the so-called Essequibo territory. A Venezuelan Foreign Ministry declaration endorsed a communique released by the Venezuelan Embassy in Australia, which was delivered to all participants in the British Commonwealth meeting. This document explains the historical reasons which support Venezuela's claim. The document also denies that Venezuela's claim constitutes a specific threat against Guyana and stresses that at the Melbourne meeting the presidency fell to the Guyanese representative. [sentence as received] As a former colony, Guyana is a member of the British Commonwealth. [Text] [PA101337 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0330 GMT 8 Oct 81]

F-16 PURCHASE OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCED--Caracas, 16 Oct (AFP)--It was officially reported here today that Venezuela will organize its air power on the basis of the sophisticated U.S. F-16 planes and getting rid of the French Mirage planes and other older planes. It was added that as a result of the Venezuelan decision, this petroleum nation will have air supremacy in Latin America during the next few years. (?The decision in favor) of the U.S. airplanes will demand an investment of \$560 million for the purchase of 24 planes and all their equipment. The two main political parties, the ruling COPEI (Christian Democrat) and the opposition Democratic Action (Social Democratic) support the purchase of the airplanes. [Text] [PA182216 Paris AFP in Spanish 1924 GMT 16 Oct 81]

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